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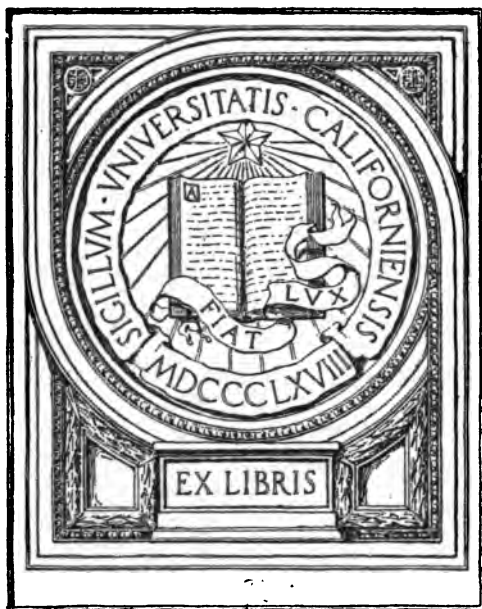
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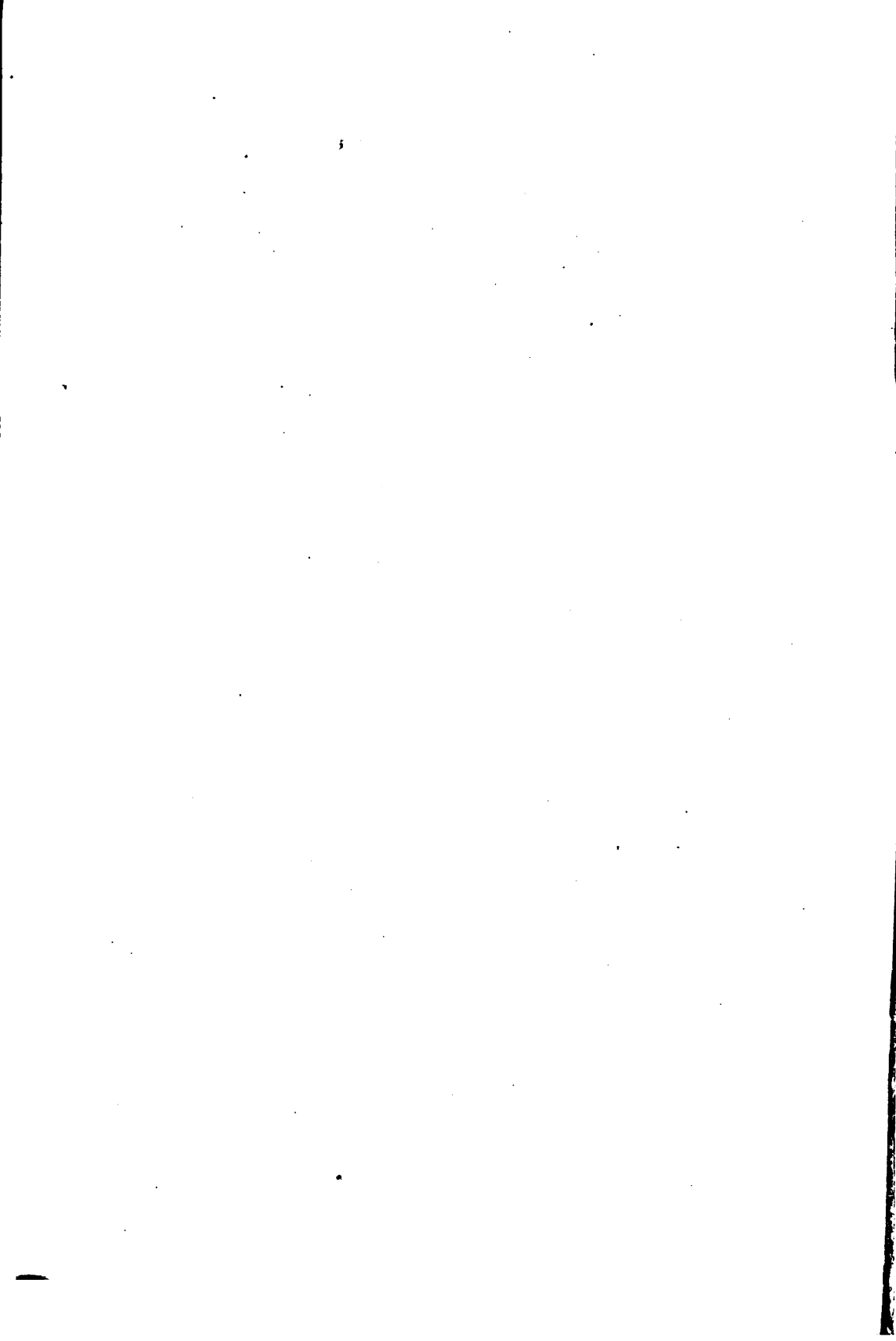


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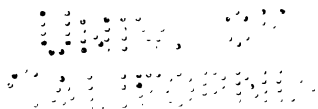
DUKE OF MILAN

A DISSERTATION
PRESENTED TO THE
FACULTY OF PRINCETON UNIVERSITY
IN CANDIDACY FOR THE DEGREE
OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

BY

THOMAS WHITFIELD BALDWIN

PROFESSOR OF ENGLISH, SOUTH DAKOTA STATE COLLEGE



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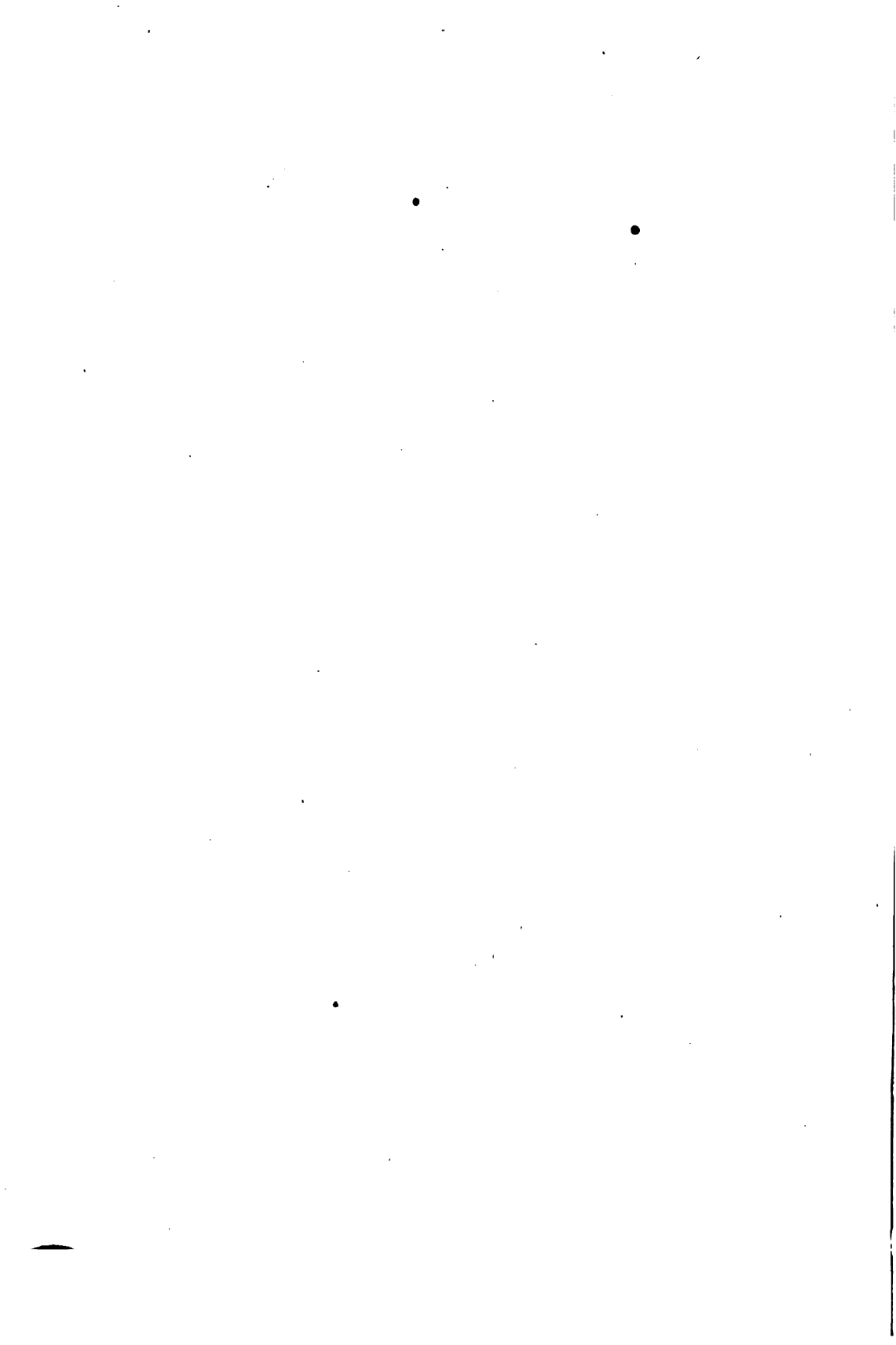
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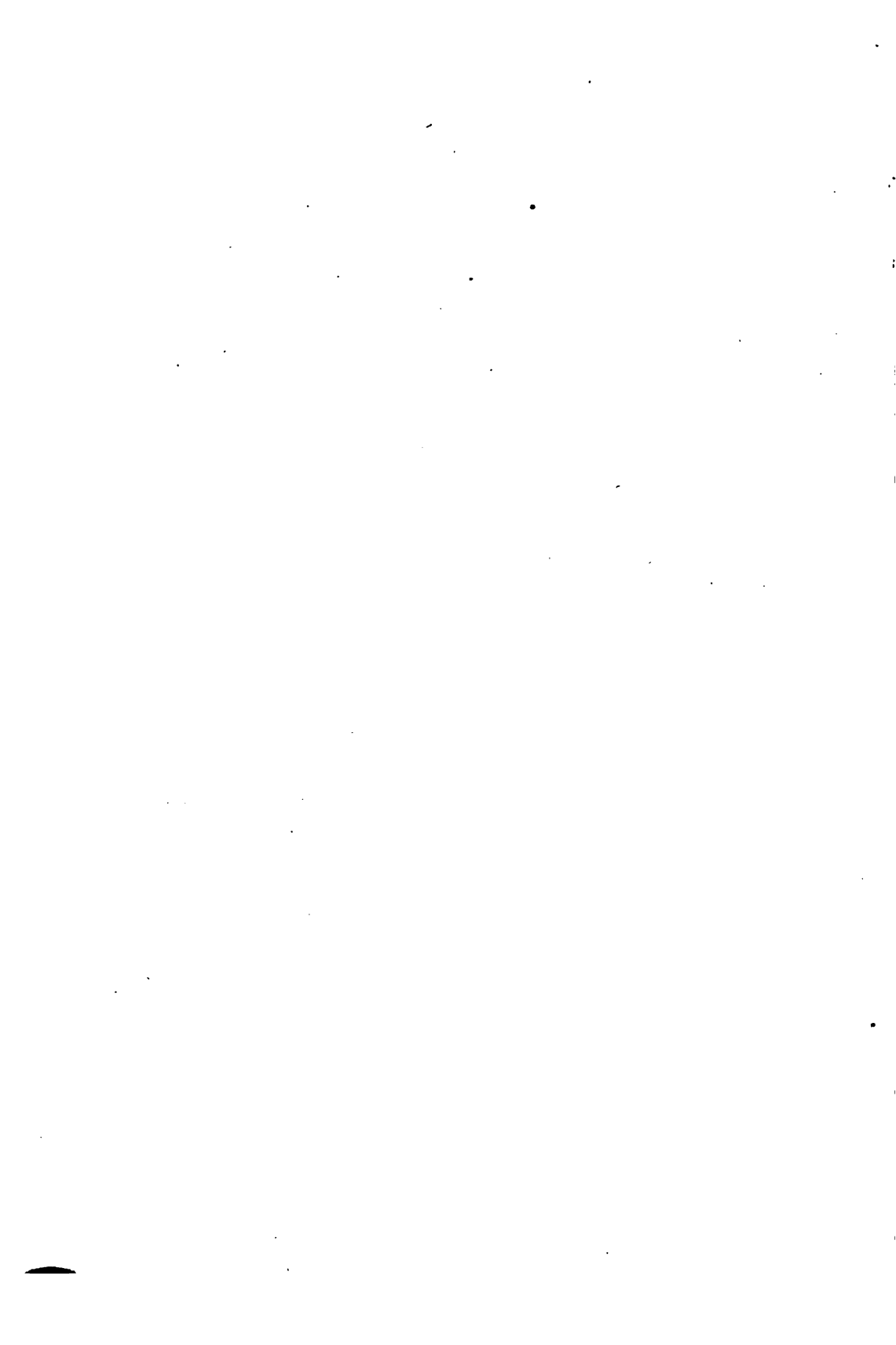
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PREFACE

In the preparation of this work, I have received much kindly aid. Professor Felix E. Schelling secured me the loan of the first quarto of *The Duke of Milan* owned by the University of Pennsylvania. Professor Charles W. Kennedy of Princeton looked up some information for me in England. Mr. R. B. McKerrow went to much unavailing trouble to secure for me the corrections by Massinger in the Foljambe quarto. Mr. Walter R. Cottrell of the Princeton University Library was always assiduous and kindly in helping me secure needed materials. Mr. Lacy Lockert, my fellow student, was a constant source of suggestion to me. My readers, Professors Parrott and Spaeth, gave me much valuable criticism. To Professor Parrott especially, under whom this work was done, I owe warmest thanks for the careful training that made much of the work possible and for unstinted criticism and suggestion at all stages.



PHILIP MASSINGER

Concerning the life of Philip Massinger, little is known. The exact date of his birth has not come down to us; but, according to Boyle in the Dictionary of National Biography, he was baptized Nov. 24, 1583, at St. Thomas's, Salisbury. Coleridge is responsible for the "pleasing fancy" that Sir Philip Sidney, brother of Henry Herbert's second wife, was sponsor upon the occasion and that hence came the name Philip. However pleasing, it is but a fancy, not a fact.

From the dedication to *The Bondman*, we learn that his father was Arthur Massinger, "servant" to the noble family of the Herberts. Of course, "servant" here has nothing of the menial attached to it. According to Joseph Foster,¹ this Arthur Massinger was, "B. A. from St. Alban Hall, sup. 7 Dec., 1571, fellow of Merton Coll. 1572, M. A. 25 June, 1577, incorporated at Cambridge 1578, M. P. Weymouth and Melcombe Regis 1588-9, 1593, Shaftesbury 1601." We know that he was highly regarded by Henry Herbert, Earl of Pembroke, as (in a letter to the Earl of Burghley, dated March 28, 1587) he recommended Massinger strongly for "the reversion of the office of Examiner in the Court of the Marches toward South Wales"; and later entrusted to him negotiations for a marriage into the same family of Burghley.² Arthur Massinger, then, was a man of considerable importance and his son Philip would presumably have had advantages above the ordinary.

At any rate, Philip was ready to matriculate at St. Alban Hall, Oxford, May 14, 1602, when he is described as "Phillipus Massinger, Sarisburiensis, generosi filius nat. an 18". How he spent his time there, we do not know. Wood says,³ "tho encouraged in his studies by the Earl of Pembroke, he applied himself more to poetry and romances than to logic and philosophy, which he ought to have done, and for that was patronised"; but Lang-

¹ Alumni Oxonienses, III, 1004.

² Notes and Queries, 1st S. III, 52.

³ Athenae Oxoniensis, Vol. II, 654 ff.

baine⁴ says, "he closely pursued his studies in Alban Hall for three or four years". He left school without a degree, as did many other literary men of the time. Why he left, we do not know. It may have been because of his father's death, which seems to have occurred about this time. However, from the statement of Wood that Massinger had been patronized by the Earl of Pembroke (third Earl William: not second Earl Henry, who died Jan. 19, 1601, to whom Boyle attributes this in D. N. B.) some have inferred that the Earl refused further aid at this time, thus accounting for Massinger's supposed withdrawal and "alienation" from the family of Herbert. Gifford accepts the "alienation" as a fact and accounts for it by the theory that Massinger had turned Catholic. This theory he bases upon certain of Massinger's writings, especially *The Virgin Martyr*, *The Renegado*, and *The Maid of Honor*. There is no real evidence for such a change on Massinger's part.

The next piece of evidence in the Massinger biography is the tripartite letter⁵ supposed to date about 1613-14, addressed to Henslowe by Field, Daborne, and Massinger, begging the loan of "five pound" on their play to bail them, which sum was granted. Daborne and Massinger again had business dealings with Henslowe involving three pounds, July 4, 1615. Daborne in an undated letter to Henslowe, which Mr. Fleay thinks belongs to 1613, complained: "I did think I deserved as much money as Mr. Massinger". Thus Massinger the dramatist makes his appearance in that state of chronic poverty which seems (if we may believe his dedications) to have been his condition throughout life.

In the tripartite letter, Fletcher is mentioned by Daborne. It is chiefly as Fletcher's collaborator that Massinger is known to us in the next period. Beginning about 1616, Massinger became a collaborator in the Fletcher syndicate for the King's Men and (with only slight exceptions) continued his connection with that company till his death. He reformed *The Virgin Martyr* for the Red Bull Company in 1620, wrote three plays for the Princess Elizabeth's Men at the Cockpit, 1623-4, and certainly one, almost certainly two, and quite probably three more plays for their successors, the Queen's Men, 1627-8. With these exceptions, he

⁴ An Account of The English Dramatick Poets, article Massinger.

⁵ Greg, Henslowe Papers, pp. 65-7, 70-1, 85.

worked continuously for the King's Men, becoming Fletcher's successor as their chief dramatist.

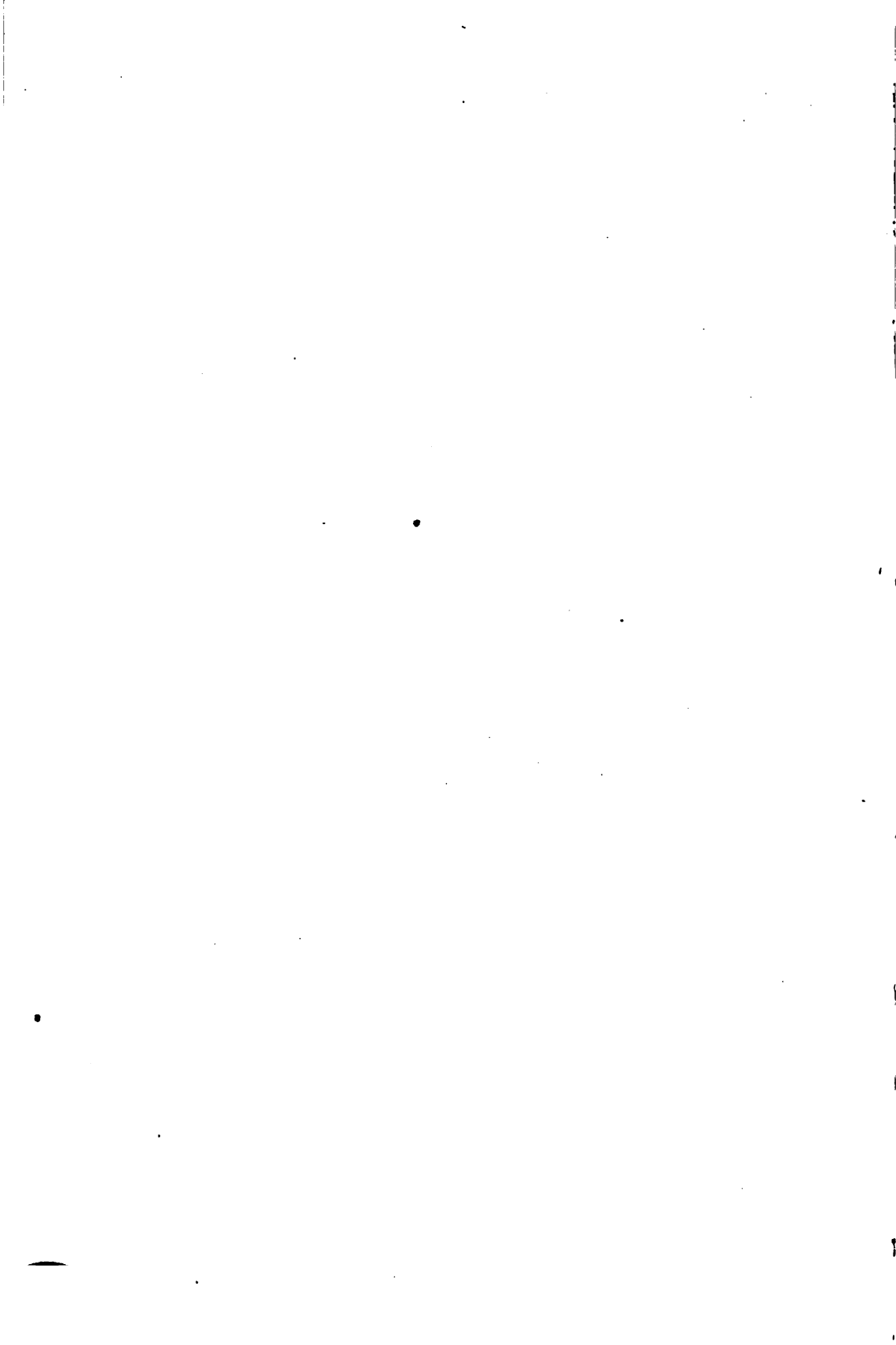
Aubrey⁶ under date of May, 1672, says that Massinger's "wife died at Cardiffe in Wales, to whom earl of Pembroke paid an annuity". "She seems to have had children. Miss Henrietta Massinger, claiming to be a direct descendant, died on 4 Aug. 1762 (London Mag. 1762)".⁷

Aubrey also informs us that Massinger died suddenly in a house by the Bankside and was buried, according to the register of St. Saviour's Southwark, March 18, 1639 [i. e., 1640], about the middle of Bullhead churchyard. Sir Aston Cockain says⁸ that Massinger and Fletcher were buried in one grave. Whether this is to be taken literally or figuratively is a disputed question.

⁶ Brief Lives, ed. A. Clark, II, 54-5. •

⁷ Boyle, D. N. B., article Massinger.

⁸ Quoted in Cunningham's Introduction, p. xvii.



CRITICAL INTRODUCTION

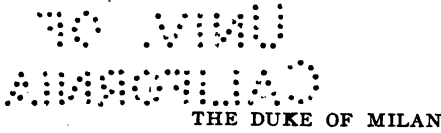
THE DUKE OF MILAN

EARLY EDITIONS

The Duke of Milan was first printed in the quarto of 1623. This quarto, which is accurately and clearly done, I have used as the basis of my text.¹ Between the publication of his first (1805) and second (1813) editions of Massinger's Works, Gifford was presented with a copy of the quarto of 1623, containing corrections of the text and a short address to Sir Francis Foljambe, in Massinger's own hand. These corrections Gifford claims to have used in his second edition.² This corrected copy was presented by Mr. Gilchrist, who had it of Mr. Blore, who found it in the papers of Mr. Gell of Hopton. At Mr. Gilchrist's sale, 1824, Mr. Heber purchased this quarto for £11 11s. It is now in the Dyce collection at South Kensington, No. 6323. I attempted, of course, to check up these corrections; but under date of 6 May, 1916, Mr. R. B. McKerrow wrote me, "The Director of the Museum writes that books are, for reasons of safety, placed in heavy cases

¹ I have used for my text the 1623 quarto belonging to the University of Pennsylvania, loaned me through the courtesy of Professor F. E. Schelling. This copy has lost the lower right hand corner of its title page, cutting off a few words from the printer's notice. Because of close cropping, the text also of this copy is slightly defective in three places. B₁ has lost one line at the bottom on both recto and verso, these lines being I, 1, 23, and I, 1, 55 of the text. G₂ verso has its last line, III, 2, 81, clipped so that one can only make out with certainty, "Unlesse I have a Beadle." Professor C. W. Kennedy of Princeton University has kindly examined for me the three copies of this edition in the British Museum with regard to these points. Only one, 644e. 73, has the printer's notice unhurt, the other two being more or less cropped. B₁ has been worse cropped in all three of these than the Pennsylvania quarto. G₂, however, is unhurt in all three. I therefore bracket in their reading for III, 2, 81. For I, 1, 23, and I, 1, 55, I bracket in the reading of the second quarto, only making its typography conform to that of the first.

² Vol. I, pp. 1-3. Gifford printed a facsimile of the address to Foljambe, IV, 593.



THE DUKE OF MILAN

METRICAL TABLE OF DEFINITELY DATED PLAYS, IN PART OR IN WHOLE BY MASSINGER

	Licensed for Acting	Company and Theater	First Published	Verses	d. e.	t. o. l.	l. e.	w. e.	Speeches	In Line	Per Cent.	Average Length of Speech
The Virgin Martyr.....	Oct. 6, 1620	Red Bull	1622	1255	43.7	32.3	1.59	0.71	393	239	75.9	4.14
The Prophetess.....	May 14, 1622	K.	1647	915	40.9	33.9	1.63	0.32	205	153	74.6	4.46
The Sea Voyage.....	June 22, 1622	K., B. F.	1647	646	37.3	30.1	1.85	0.77	186	127	68.2	3.47
The Spanish Curate.....	Oct. 24, 1622	K., B. F.	1647	1147	42.9	31.3	1.83	0.43	307	244	79.4	3.73
The Bondman.....	Dec. 3, 1623	Q., C.	1624	2390	44.5	36.9	2.05	1.21	700	545	77.8	3.41
The Renegado.....	Apr. 17, 1624	Q., C.	1630	2346	47.4	39.5	2.89	1.49	633	473	74.7	3.70
The Parliament of Love.....	Nov. 3, 1624	Q., C.	1895	2079	43.8	32.9	2.35	1.95	528	401	75.9	3.93
The Fair Maid of the Inn.....	Jan. 22, 1626	K., B. F.	1647	960	52.6	34.2	1.56	1.45	260	181	69.6	3.69
The Roman Actor.....	Oct. 11, 1626	K., B. F.	1629	2200	42.5	38.7	2.59	0.95	492	380	77.2	4.47
The Judge.....	June 6, 1627	K.	1636	2208	44.3	44.1	3.98	2.38	647	508	78.5	3.41
The Great Duke of Florence.....	July 5, 1627	Q., P.	1632	2240	45.4	43.3	4.46	1.87	720	540	75.0	3.11
The Maid of Honour or The Honour of Women.....	May 6, 1628	Q., P.	1630	2536	46.1	43.9	4.14	0.98	755	577	76.1	3.35
The Picture.....	June 8, 1629	K., G. & B. F.	1632	2299	44.7	48.7	5.02	1.47	637	498	78.1	3.60
Minerva's Sacrifice.....	Nov. 3, 1629	K.	1848	2256	40.2	52.4	5.80	3.05	622	494	79.4	3.62
The Emperor of the East.....	March 11, 1631	K., G. & B. F.	1632	2299	44.7	48.7	5.02	1.47	637	498	78.1	3.60
Believe As Ye List.....	May 7, 1631	K.	1659	2165	50.0	39.4	3.74	1.70	874	648	74.1	2.47
The Unfortunate Piety.....	June 13, 1631	K., B. F.	1655	2368	44.3	42.0	4.51	1.43	757	582	76.8	3.12
The City Madam.....	May 25, 1632	K., B. F.	1655	2368	44.3	42.0	4.51	1.43	757	582	76.8	3.12
The Guardian.....	Oct. 31, 1633	K., B. F.	1655	2368	44.3	42.0	4.51	1.43	757	582	76.8	3.12
The Tragedy of Cleander.....	May 7, 1634	K.	1655	1410	45.6	35.6	3.04	1.20	510	359	70.3	2.76
A Very Woman.....	June 6, 1634	K., B. F.	1655	1410	45.6	35.6	3.04	1.20	510	359	70.3	2.76
The Orator.....	Jan. 10, 1635	K.	1655	2319	45.7	42.8	4.78	1.55	650	496	76.3	3.56
The Bashful Lover.....	May 9, 1636	K., B. F.	1655	2319	45.7	42.8	4.78	1.55	650	496	76.3	3.56
The King and Subject.....	June 5, 1638	K.	1655	2319	45.7	42.8	4.78	1.55	650	496	76.3	3.56
Alexius or Chaste Lover.....	Sept. 25, 1639	K.	1655	2319	45.7	42.8	4.78	1.55	650	496	76.3	3.56
Fair Anchress of Pausilippo.....	Jan. 26, 1640	K.	1655	2319	45.7	42.8	4.78	1.55	650	496	76.3	3.56

soldered down and that as the staff of the Museum is almost daily decreasing owing to the war, he is reluctantly obliged to decline all requests to see them."

A second quarto³ appeared in 1638, being evidently reprinted from the first, as it continues all but its most evident errors and adds a number of its own. It modernizes the spelling considerably and uses modern "j" and "u" for the "i" and "v" of the first quarto, but makes only slight changes in the old punctuation. It is rather carelessly done, as its variants will show. Evidently, then, it has hardly so great authority as a thoroughly done modern edition.

The license for the first edition appears in the Stationers' Register as follows:⁴

"20th Januarii 1622 [i. e. 1623]

Edward Blackmore, George Norton.

Entred for their Copie under the handes of Sir John Ashley knight Master of the Revelles and Master Gilmyne warden, A play called Sforza, Duke of Millaine, made by Master Messenger. vi d"

But as Norton seems to have been going out of business about this time⁵ he did not retain his share in the play long, and we find a second entry:⁶

"5^o. May 1623

Edward Blackmore.

Assigned over unto him by George Norton and consent of a full court holden this Daie all the estate, right and title the said George hath in the play called, The Duke of Milan, vi d"

Blackmore thus became sole owner. The fact that only Blackmore's name appears on the title page of the first quarto may mean that the quarto was not issued till after the above transaction.

DATE OF COMPOSITION

The date of composition for this play must be determined by internal evidence. The fact that it is not licensed in Herbert's office book points to a date of acting earlier than May, 1622, when Herbert began his entries.

³ I have used the copy of the second quarto owned by Princeton University.

⁴ Arber reprint, IV, 90.

⁵ See Appendix II, Norton.

⁶ Arber reprint, IV, 95.

The metrical characteristics of the play help in fixing its approximate date of composition. Turning to the metrical table⁷ of Massinger's plays, it is to be noticed that the unassisted plays (2000 verses and over) show a fluctuation in double endings between 40.2% and 50.0%, with the majority of the plays around the average, 45.0%. The weak endings also fluctuate. Therefore neither the weak nor the double endings give any clue to development in the unassisted plays. But the run-on lines show steady increase from 36.9% in *The Bondman* (1623) to 52.4% in *Believe As Ye List* (1631), then a drop to 39.4% in *The City Madam* (1632) and an increase again to 42.8% in *The Bashful Lover*

⁷ The metrical table represents my own counting throughout, though of course I have had access to the work of Boyle and others. In the collaborated or revised plays, I have made a consensus of assignments by Boyle, Oliphant, Fleay, and Macaulay. In the *Virgin Martyr*, I agree with Boyle (Engl. Stud., V, 95) in assigning to Massinger I, 1; III, 1, 2; IV, 3; V, 2. None of the other critics has made complete assignment. In the *Prophetess*, Boyle (Engl. Stud., V, 87), Fleay, with a query in some cases (Biog. Chron., I, 216), and Macaulay (C. H. E. L., VI, 157) agree in assigning to Massinger II, 1, 2, 3; IV entire; V, 1, 2, from which assignment Oliphant (Engl. Stud., XVI, 191) disagrees only in assigning the dumb show of IV, 1 (IV, 2, in some editions), and V, 1, to an older author. I agree with the majority except for the short scenes, IV, 4 and 6 (3 and 5 in some editions) which I assign to Fletcher. In the *Sea Voyage*, the consensus is not quite so general; but I have taken II, 1, 2; V, 1, 2, 3, 4, since Fleay (Engl. Stud., IX, 24), Oliphant (Engl. Stud., XVI, 192), and Boyle (D. N. B., vol. 37, 14a) are in practical agreement upon these scenes. Mr. Macaulay (C. H. E. L., VI, 157) thinks Massinger's part doubtful. In the *Spanish Curate*, Boyle (Engl. Stud., V, 91), Fleay (Biog. Chron., I, 217), and Oliphant (Engl. Stud. XVI, 192) agree in assigning Massinger I, 1, 2, 3; III, 3; IV, 1, 4; V, 1, 3. Macaulay (C. H. E. L., VI, 157) adds IV, 2, which Boyle has questioned for Fletcher. I have used the consensus, with which I agree except for a very few lines. In the *Fair Maid of the Inn* there is again no absolute consensus; but I have taken I, 1, 2, 3; III, 2; V, 3, as being as nearly so as probably is possible for such a play. In a *Very Woman*, Boyle (Engl. Stud., V, 92) and Fleay (Biog. Chron., I, 228) agree in assigning to Massinger I, 1; II, 1, 2, 3a; IV, 2; V, 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, from which Oliphant (Engl. Stud., XVI, 190) only disagrees in not giving Massinger all of II, 3a, and IV, 2. I agree with Boyle and Fleay.

Since the *Parliament of Love* is fragmentary and restored, its percentages cannot accurately be determined.

K. = King's men; B.F. = Black Friars; G. = Globe; Q. = Queen of Bohemia's or Princess Elizabeth's men before 1625, Queen Henrietta's after 1625; C. = Cockpit.

(1636). The light endings show precisely similar development. The break after *Believe As Ye List* is perhaps to be accounted for by a change in the character and tone of the work. Now taking the difference in percentage of run-on lines between *The Bondman* and *Believe As Ye List*, 15.5%, and dividing by seven and one-half, the approximate number of years between their datings, we get slightly over 2.0%, the average increase per year. *The Duke of Milan* has 4.5% less run-on lines than *The Bondman*. If the average holds good, this means that it is about two years earlier. The light endings show about the same thing in the unassisted plays, but the percentages are so small that they can only be used fairly in this general, confirmatory way. As *The Bondman* was licensed December 3, 1623, the approximate date of *The Duke of Milan* according to the run-on line series would be about the year 1621. An examination of the definitely dated collaborated plays of that period shows about the same percentage⁸ of run-on lines for Massinger's share as in *The Duke of Milan*, 32.4%, thus confirming the conclusion.

An allusion in the play, first pointed out by Fleay,⁹ and accepted by Gayley¹⁰ helps in fixing the date more accurately. In III, 2, 17-24, the Officer says:

*I have had a fellow
That could indite forsooth, and make fine meeter
To tinkle in the eares of ignorant Madams,
That for defaming of Great Men was sent me
Thredbare and lowsie, and in three dayes after
Discharged by another that set him on, I haue seene him
Cap a pie gallant, and his stripes wash'd of
With Oyle of Angels.*

Fleay says "The 'fellow that could indite' III, 2, is, I suppose, Wither". Wither drew the shafts of his contemporaries more than once. Ben Jonson satirised him as Chronomastix in *Time Vindicated*, performed January 19, 1623.¹¹ According to Ward,¹² "Wither was also caricatured by Davenant in 'The Cruel

⁸ *Virgin Martyr*, licensed Oct. 6, 1620, 32.3 per cent.; *Prophetess*, licensed May 14, 1622, 33.9 per cent.

⁹ Biog. Chron., I, 212.

¹⁰ Beaumont, the Dramatist, p. 136.

¹¹ Cal. State Papers, 1619-23, 483.

¹² History of English Dramatic Literature, III, 170.

Brother' [pr. 1630], especially in Act II." He was evidently regarded, then, by those of the time as a fit subject for satire and caricature.

This versifier of Massinger's play was cast in prison for defaming great men, but was soon discharged by another who had set him on, and received reward. Now Wither was twice in trouble before *The Duke of Milan* was printed. First, in 1613, for *Abuses Stript and Whipt*, he was imprisoned for several months. Apparently, then, the allusion can not be to this imprisonment as it was no three-day affair. Second, in the latter part of June and the first of July, 1621, he was again in trouble for *Wither's Motto*. In his examination, June 27, 1621, at Whitehall, he excuses himself for having the book printed after license had been refused on the ground that he "Showed it to Mr. Drayton (—the man that set him on?—) and several others before printing, thinks (sic) there is nothing in it contrary to the proclamation restraining writing on matters of government. By the enemies whose downfall he said he had lived to see (—defaming of great men—); meant (sic) the late Earl of Northampton".¹³ The printers were also examined concerning the work on July 10 and 12. Wither seems to have been let off without further punishment.¹⁴ This trial, then, apparently meets well enough the conditions mentioned in the play and would doubtless fit better if one could see the events through the eyes of some person of the time instead of through the medium of a dry abstract of state papers. Therefore, with Fleay and Gayley, I believe the allusion is to Wither, especially as metrical characteristics show that the play must have belonged to the year in which this trial occurred. Thus the play must have been completed after June, 1621.

An examination of the previous table of definitely dated plays shows that Massinger produced about two plays each year. The licenses for these twenty-six plays according to the month of the year were: Jan. 3; Feb. 0; March 1; Apr. 1; May 6; June 6; July 1; Aug. 0; Sept. 1; Oct. 4; Nov. 2; Dec. 1. It will thus be seen that nearly half of them were licensed in May and June, that nearly one fourth of them were licensed in October and

¹³ Cal. State Papers, 1619-23.

¹⁴ D. N. B., article Wither.

November, and nearly one eighth in January. Now since there was a play licensed in May, 1622, and since *The Duke of Milan* was seemingly completed after June, 1621, it would, according to the probabilities shown, have been licensed in October or November, 1621, or January, 1622. These two dates are further confirmed by the fact that the play was performed at "blacke Friers", the winter playhouse, open from about Nov. 1 to May 1. The former of these has the mathematical preference, and the logical preference as well, since such a commodity as the Wither allusion does not keep long.

This dating is further confirmed by a peculiarly Massingerian touch. In *The Duke of Milan*, II, 1, 184, Mariana says in reply to Marcelia, "Here, Giantesse, here", and again, II, 1, 189-90, she says, "she's three foote too high for a Woman". In *The Spanish Curate*, V, 1, Jamie says to Violante, "In stature you're a giantess." This is a Massinger scene, as all critics agree, in a play which was licensed Oct. 24, 1622. Evidently the parts of Marcelia and Violante were played by the same actor, who from a boy was now become or fast becoming a rather tall man. These parts were pretty certainly taken by Richard Sharp, who played women's parts from before 1619 to 1623, and later took parts requiring commanding appearance as Ferdinand, a general in the army, in Massinger's *Picture*.

Therefore, from these facts, I regard it as practically certain that *The Duke of Milan* was composed and performed the latter part of 1621 or the early part of 1622.

MODERN EDITIONS. *Complete*

Nicholas Rowe is said to have revised all of Massinger's works with a view to publication but finally wrote a recast of the *Fatal Dowry* instead and did not publish, in order to hide his plunder.¹⁵

"The Dramatic Works Of Mr. Philip Massinger, Compleat . . . Revised, Corrected, and all the Various Editions, Colated, By Mr. Coxeter . . . 1759." Coxeter himself had died in 1747 and the edition bearing his name was completed from his notes. Reissued in 1761 by T. Davies with an introductory essay by G. Colman. Coxeter based his text of *The Duke of Milan* on Q₂ as is shown by I, 3, 34, 70, 92; II, 1, 240; IV, 3, 239, 299.

¹⁵ Gifford, Vol. I, Introduction lxxxv.

“The Dramatick Works of Philip Massinger . . . Revised and Corrected, With Notes Critical And Explanatory, By John Monck Mason, Esq. . . . 1779”. Mason used Coxeter’s text of *The Duke of Milan* except II, 1, 402, and IV, 3, 169, making a few emendations of his own.

“The Plays of Philip Massinger, With Notes Critical and Explanatory, By W. Gifford, Esq. . . . 1805”. A second edition appeared in 1813, various single volume editions later. The standard. Gifford bases his text of *The Duke of Milan* on Q₁ but seems to have used a copy of Mason to prepare his edition for the press on, as we find him embodying same rather trivial changes of Mason such as appear to be by accident as I, 3, 203, and III, 1, 163.

“The Plays Of Philip Massinger Adapted For Family Reading, And The Use Of Young Persons By The Omission of Objectionable Passages.” This appeared in London in Murray’s Family Library, 1830; and in New York in Harper’s Family Library, 1831. The editor was Rev. William Harness, who simply omitted such things from the Gifford text as did not suit his purpose.

“The Plays Of Philip Massinger From The Text Of William Gifford With The Addition Of The Tragedy ‘Believe As You List’ Edited by Lieut. Col. Francis Cunningham”. 1867, 1871, 1897. References throughout are to this edition.

While Cunningham prints the text of Gifford, in *The Duke of Milan*, he makes some emendations of his own. These are II, 1, 177, “my” for “mine”; III, 1, 7, omits “it”; III, 1, 96, prints “have the power”; III, 1, 123, “made” for “make”; III, 2, 4, “feeing” for “feeling”; IV, 1, 23, “courtiers” for “courtier”; IV, 3, 169, “women” for “woman”; V, 1, 21, “backwards”, the quarto reading, for “backward” Gifford’s reading; V, 2, 186, “adorned” for “adored”. Mr. Symons, in the Mermaid Series, uses Mr. Cunningham’s text with the exception of III, 1, 7, where he has supplied “it”. I cannot accept any of the emendations except of course that of V, 1, 21, where Cunningham returns to the quarto reading, though it was probably on a guess, as he does not show knowledge of the quarto elsewhere.

Partial Editions Containing Duke of Milan

"The Dramatic Works of Massinger and Ford With An Introduction By Hartley Coleridge." 1840, 1848, 1865.

"The Works Of The British Dramatists. John S. Keltie. 1870."

Philip Massinger (Mermaid Series) Edited, With An Introduction And Notes By Arthur Symons 1889.

The British Museum Catalogue seems to list a separate edition of the alteration of 1816. It has under *Duke of Milan*:

"[Another edition] With alterations and additions. MS. Notes. London, 1816. 8°. Interleaved."

Underneath the name of play and author on the title page of this edition are the words: "Revived at the Theatre-Royal, Drury-Lane, with alterations and additions, on Saturday, March 9, 1816." On the fly leaf is written: "The Duke of Milan/correctly marked according to the directions of Mr. Kean."¹⁶ This latter statement evidently refers to the MS. notes. Whether the revision is his also I do not know.

This alteration of 1816 may also be found in "The London Theatre. By Thomas Dibdin", Volume 4 or in "The London Stage" 1824-'27, Volume 2.

Cumberland's alteration in 1779 seems not to have been printed.

There is a German translation in "Ben Jonson und seine Schule, dargestellt in einer Auswahl von Lustspielen und Tragödien, übersetzt und erläutert durch Wolf Grafen von Baudissin: Leipzig, 1836." Vol. II, 101.

STAGE HISTORY

Richard Cumberland made an alteration of *The Duke of Milan*, which was acted at Covent Garden in 1779, three times according to the "Biographica Dramatica," 1812. It "consisted of Massinger's play, and Fenton's *Mariamne*, incorporated." It would be interesting to see how he managed to work together two such wholly different plays, but his alteration was not printed. It may be worthy of note that Cumberland altered *The Bondman* about the same time.

¹⁶ I am indebted to Professor Kennedy of Princeton for checking this.

Some unknown person made an alteration of *The Duke of Milan*, acted at Drury Lane in 1816. It had seven performances according to Genest, the first on March 9. It was also played at Bath July 5 of the same year. In these productions, Kean took the part of Sforza. In all but the second scene of the fifth act, the reviser has simply omitted some unnecessary lines, and all that he considered low or vulgar. Thus in the quarrel of the second act the ladies get very much wrought up over nothing, as the low, vulgar element (wherein lay the provocation to anger) has been omitted. He has made a change in the fifth act, second scene, necessitating his writing a few very wooden lines. When the Duke goes out, Eugenia comes in "clothed as the body of Marcellia". She takes her place veiled, with a poisoned flower in her hand; the Duke is called in and kisses her hand, getting the poison; she bursts into sobs, throwing back her veil. Francisco then tells what has happened as in the original play. This alteration is far from being an improvement on the old play.

Hebbel mentions: "Ludovico. Eine Tragödie in fünf Acten von Massinger. Bearbeitet von Deinhardstein".¹⁷ This, according to Wurzbach,¹⁸ was brought out in 1848 but had little success. According to the same authority, there was another alteration of this play presented at Berlin 1879 with no better success than its predecessor had.

SOURCES

Fable

Josephus the Chief Source of the Play.

The chief source of *The Duke of Milan* is the Herod and Mariamne story as it is told in Josephus. The works of Josephus were widely and early translated. There was a Latin translation in 1514, German 1531, French 1534, Greek 1544, and English 1602. Thus we need not be surprised that, "The story of Herod and his wife Mariam has had more than thirty adaptations, mostly dramatisations, in Italian, Spanish, French, German and English literature."¹⁹ These represent nearly every important movement

¹⁷ Hebbel's *sämmtliche Werke*, Hamburg, 1891, X, 109.

¹⁸ Shakespeare Jahrbuch, XXXVI, 138.

¹⁹ Grack, *Studien Über Herodes Und Mariamne*, p. 5, summarizing Landau.

in the drama and would form an interesting subject treated from that side alone.

Besides *The Duke of Milan*, there have been six²⁰ other dramatisations of the Herod-Mariamne story in English, one before Massinger's. The first two of these adaptations, together with Massinger's, probably were taken from "The Famous And Memorable Workes of Iosephus, A Man Of Much Honour And Learning Among The Iewes. Faithfully translated out of the Latine, and French, by Tho. Lodge, Doctor in Physicke." The first edition of this translation appeared 1602, second 1609, third, a copy of which I have used, 1620, etc. The fact that there were two adaptations of this story so close together as that of Massinger [1621-22] and that of Markham and Sampson [1622] may possibly be due to the circumstance that the attention of both was called to this story by this third edition of Lodge. I find no trace in Massinger of influence from Lady Cary's work. I have not

²⁰ First, "The / Tragedie Of Mariam, / The Faire / Queene of Iewry. / Written by that learned, / vertuous, and truly noble Ladie, / E. C. [i. e. Elizabeth Cary] / . . . 1613." [Licensed in S. R. for Richard Hawkins, Dec. 17, 1612.] This is a thoroughly Senecan tragedy with chorus, etc., probably never acted.

Second, "The true / Tragedy of Herod And / Antipater: / With the Death of Faire Marriam. / According to Josephus, the lear/ned and famous Jewe. / As it hath beene, of late, divers times publiquely Acted / (with great Applause) at the Red Bull, by the / Company of his Maiesties Revels. / Written by Gervase Markham and William Sampson, Gentlemen. 1622." [Licensed in S. R. for Matthew Rhodes, Feb. 22, 1622.] This is a chronicle play in the Senecan style, with dumb shows, etc. It does not center upon the love story of Herod and Mariamne but rather gives the tragic troubles of Herod as told by Josephus, of which the unhappiness with his wife was one.

Third, *Herod and Mariamne*, acted at Duke's theater 1673, printed anonymously first in 1673, again in 1674 with a new title page. Elkanah Settle brought it out, but its author was Samuel Pordage. Langbaine says it was, "Writ a dozen years before it was made public."

Fourth, *Herod The Great*, by Roger Boyle, Earl of Orrery. This was printed in 1694, but was probably never acted. However, it must have been written before 1679, the year of Boyle's death.

Fifth, *Mariamne*, by Elijah Fenton, acted first at Covent Garden Theater Feb. 22, 1723. This tragedy had quite a run and was acted for many years.

Sixth and last, *Herod*, by Stephen Phillips "as produced at Her Majesty's Theatre, London, England, October 31, 1900."

seen the play of Sampson and Markham, but I have examined rather full notes upon it made by Professor T. M. Parrott. Judging by them, I find no reason to suspect any influence from this play upon Massinger, beyond the possibility of its having suggested the subject to him, though it is by no means certain that it is even antecedent in composition to *The Duke of Milan*.²¹

The Herod-Mariamne Story of Josephus.

The Herod-Mariamne story is told by Josephus, first in his *Wars of the Jews* (I, 17, in Lodge's translation; but varying slightly as to chapter, according to translation used), again in his *Antiquities of the Jews* (XV, 2, 3, 4, 9, 10, 11. The story of Antipater and Mariamne's sons is told in the books following.). I have summarized the story as given in the second of these, and then given the few variations that the first presents from it. I have used Lodge's translation, as it was very likely Massinger's source, for quoting in full the sections of the story which he has most closely used.

Herod in his struggle for complete power over the Jews took as his second wife, both because of attraction and policy, Mariamne, sister of young Aristobulus, they being the children of Alexandra, wife of Alexander, who was king Aristobulus' son. Now Alexandra wished the high-priesthood for her son, Aristobulus; but Herod, fearing to let one of such noble blood into so powerful an office, gave it to Ananel, a man of low birth. Alexandra then tried to obtain her desire through Cleopatra's intercession with Anthony. The better to attract his attention, knowing his fondness for beautiful people, she sent him the pictures of both Mariamne and Aristobulus. Straightway, Anthony sent for Aristobulus, but Herod made excuse to keep him. Yet, for policy's sake, Herod decided to treat him and his mother Alexandra with more respect. He, therefore, deposed Ananel and made Aristobulus High Priest in his stead.

But Herod, not trusting Alexandra any the more for all that, put certain restrictions upon her and set intelligencers to spy upon her, actions which so exasperated her pride that she deter-

²¹ "1622—Markham's and Sampson's True Tragedy of Herod and Antipater; acted at the Red Bull, by the *company* of the Revels."—Malone's Shakespeare, Vol. 3, 429 (Chalmer's account).

mined, at the advice of Cleopatra, to flee with Aristobulus into Egypt. They were to be carried in coffins to the seaside where a ship awaited them, but the plan was discovered; and though Herod made show of pardon, he determined to remove Aristobulus, especially as he saw how well the people received him when he officiated. Therefore, he had him enticed in swimming and drowned as if in play. But Alexandra was not deceived, and appealed, secretly again, to Cleopatra, who persuaded Anthony to send for Herod, to give an account of Aristobulus' death.

Herod obeyed the summons, leaving the government in the hands of his uncle Joseph with secret instructions to kill Mariamne in case Anthony should happen to do him a mischief. "For he loued her so extreamely by reason of her beautie, that he supposed himselfe iniured, if after his decease she should be beloued by any other; and he openly declared that all that misery which befell him, proceeded from Anthonies passion, and intire affection, and admiration of her beautie, whereof he had before time heard some report." Joseph, jesting with the ladies, in order to show Herod's good will toward Mariamne, betrayed his secret command, "thereby to make manifest, that it was not possible for Herod to live without her, and that if any inconuenient should happen vnto him, he would not in death also bee disioyned from her." But the ladies interpreted it as Herod's malice and felt none the better toward him for it.

In the meantime, Herod had won Anthony over by means of presents and persuasion, so that Cleopatra, who had designs upon the rule of the Jews for herself, could do no more against him. It had been reported in Jerusalem that Herod had been put to death; and Mariamne, at the instance of her mother, was considering flight to the Romans, trusting in her beauty to gain whatever they desired from Anthony, when Herod sent letters announcing his success. "Yet was not this their resolution hidden from the King. . . . Vpon his arriuall, his sister Salome, and his mother certified him exactly of Alexandras intent, and the determination of her friends. Salome likewise spake against Ioseph her husband, and slandered him, obiecting against him that hee had Mariammes company. All which she spake through the malice she had long time conceiued against him, for that in a certaine debate Mariamne had in her rage despitefully hit them in

the teeth with their obscure birth." Herod became angry, called Mariamne, demanded the truth, yet was finally persuaded out of his anger; but Mariamne, not being content to let well enough alone, upbraided him with his secret command. This threw Herod into a rage of suspicion again, and he hardly refrained from killing her, did put Joseph to death and threw Alexandra into prison. This is the first form of the story in the *Antiquities*, but the same general situation is repeated in the same work, with different results, however, as we shall immediately see.

When Caesar overcame Anthony, it seemed as if the latter's close friend, Herod, must finally lose his power. Alexandra tried to get her father, Hircanus, to make an effort to supplant Herod; but her plan was discovered and Hircanus, the only male surviving of her family, was condemned to death. Herod then determined to visit Caesar. Again he left a secret command for the death of both Mariamne and Alexandra, in case he did not return, this time in the hands of the Treasurer, Joseph, and Sohemus, the Iturian.

"After he had in this sort giuen order for all his affaires, hee withdrew himselfe unto Rhodes, intending there to meet with Caesar. And as soon as he arriued in that city, hee tooke the Diademe from his head, and laide it apart, but as for his other princely ornaments, hee changed them in no sort; and beeing admitted to Caesars presence, hee at that time gaue a more ample testimony of the greatnesse of his magnanimitie and courage; for neither addressed he his speech to intreat his fauor (according to the custome of suppliants) neither presented he any request, as if he had in any sort offended him, but gaue account of all that which he had done, without concealing or mistrusting any thing. For he freely confessed before Caesar, that he had intirely loued Antonius and that to the utmost of his power he had done him seruice, to the end that he might obtaine the soueraignty and monarchy; not by annexing his forces vnto his, in that he was otherwise imploied in the Arabian warre; but in furnishing him both with wheat and money, and that this was the least office which it behooued him to performe towards Antonius; for that being once his professed friend, it behooued him not onely to employ his best endeouours on his so princely benefactor, but also to hazard both his head and happiness to deliuer him from perils.

All which (said he) I haue not performed according as I ought to haue done; yet notwithstanding I know, that at such time as he was ouercome in the Actian battell, I did not alter my affection with his fortune: neither did I restraine my selfe: for although I befriended not Antonius with my presence and assistance in his Actian war, yet at leastwise I assisted him with my counsaile, certifying him that he had but one onely means left him for his security, and preuention of his vtter ruine, which was to put Cleopatra to death, for that by cutting her off, he might enioy her estate, and might more easily obtain his peace, and pacify thy displeasure against him. And for that he gaue but slender regard to these mine admonitions by his owne sottishnesse and indiscretion, he hath hurt himselfe and profited you, because, as I said, he did not follow my counsaile. Now therefore (O Caesar) in regard of the hate which you bear vnto Anthony, you condemne my friendship also. I will not deny that which I haue done; neither am I affraid freely and publikely to protest how much I haue loued him: but if without regard of persons, you consider how kindly I am affected towards my benefactors, and how resolute and constant a friend I am, and how mindfull of kindnesse, the effect of that which I haue done, may make me knowne vnto thee. For if the name be onely changed, the friendship notwithstanding may remaine, and deserue a due praise.

“By these words (which were manifest testimonies of his resolute and noble courage) he so inwardly indeered himselfe vnto Caesar, who was a magnificent and worthy Monarch, that he conuerted this his accusation into an occasion to win and work him to be his friend: for which cause Caesar in setting the diadem vpon his head, exhorted him that he should no less respect his friendship, then he had in former times Anthonies: and withall, did him much honour.” He remained with Caesar some time, giving rich gifts and obtaining pardon from the senate.

At his return home, he found affairs troubled. Mariamne, remembering her former experience with Joseph, had suspected the same thing again. She and Alexandra so worked vpon Sohemus that he “blabbed out all that which the king had commanded him”, hoping to win favor for himself with Mariamne and Alexandra. But Mariamne was sore displeased and “when as Herod beyond all expectation arriued in his country, beeing

adorned with mighty fortune, hee first of all, as it became him certified his wife of his good tidings and happy successe, whom onely amongst all other his friends and wiues, hee embraced and saluted, for the pleasing conuersation and affection that was in her. But she, whilst he repeated vnto her these fortunate euent of his affaires, rather entertained the same with a displeasing attention, then applauding ioy." Herod was much angered at this and while he was torn between love and hate, his sister Salome and his mother slandered Mariamne to him. "To these reproches of theirs, he lent no vnwilling ears; yet had he not the heart to attempt any thing against his wife, or to giue free credit to their report." Just at this juncture, however, he was called to meet Caesar, newly become lord of Egypt, but soon returned. "Vpon his arriual, he found that fortune which was fauourable vnto him abroad, too forward (sic, froward?) at home, especially in regard to his wife, in whose affection before time he seemed to be most happy. For he was inwardly touched with the lawfull loue of Mariamne, as any other of whom the Histories make report: and as touching her, she was both chaste and faithfull vnto him, yet had shee a certaine womanly imperfection and naturall frowardnesse, which was the cause that shee presumed too much vpon the intire affection wherewith her husband was intangled; so that without regard of his person, who had power and authority ouer others, shee entertained him oftentimes very outrageously: All which he endured patiently, without any shew of discontent. But Mariamne vpbraided and publicly reproached both the Kings mother and sister, telling them that they were but abiectly and basely borne.

"Whereupon there grew a great enmity and vnrecouerable hatred betweene the Ladies."

Herod one day sent for Mariamne; but though she came, she would have nothing to do with him. Instead she upbraided him bitterly with her father's and her brother's death. His sister, Salome, who had been waiting her opportunity, sent in the Butler, whom she had bribed to accuse Mariamne of having given him poison for the king. To get at the truth, Herod ordered Mariamne's most faithful servant to be tortured, who told Herod that the cause of his wife's hatred toward him was the secret command which Sohemus had betrayed. Herod, insane

with jealousy, had Sohemus put to death, and Mariamne brought to trial. She was condemned but was not to be executed at once. Yet, through Salome's solicitation, Herod sent her to death, her own mother casting abuse upon her. "After her death the king began more powerfully to be inflamed in his affections; who before times, as we haue declared, was already miserably distracted. For neither did he loue after the common manner of married folke: but whereas almost euen vnto madnes he nourished this his desire, he could not be induced by the too vnbridled manners of his wife to alay the heat of his affection, but that daily more and more by doting on her, hee increased the same. And all that time especially he supposed that God was displeased with him, for the death of Mariamme his wife. Oftentimes did he inuocate her name, and more often vndecently lamented hee her. And notwithstanding he deuised all kinde of delights and sports that might bee imagined, by preparing banquets and inuiting guests with princely hospitalitie, to passe away the time; yet all those profited him nothing. For which cause he gaue ouer the charge and administration of his kingdome. And in such sort was he ouerwhelmed with grieffe, that oftentimes hee commanded his ministers to call his wife Mariamme, as if as yet she had benee alieue." He finally went into "desert places" for a time to recover from his sickness. Alexandra was soon after put to death for plotting to get herself and Mariamne's children into power.

Mariamne had three sons by Herod, Alexander, Aristobulus, and a younger son who died at Rome where he had been sent to be educated. The two surviving sons were constantly plotted against by Antipater, son of Herod's first wife, who was jealous of the favor Herod showed them, and by Salome whose hatred to their mother they had inherited. Through the machinations of the two, these sons were finally put to death and Antipater seemingly had the field clear. However, his father at last discovered his plots and sent him to death likewise.

The other account, in the *Wars of the Jews*, is a brief summary and has only a few noteworthy variations from the above. Here Herod was called to the country and left the secret command to Joseph, his sister Salome's husband. When Mariamne upbraided him with this secret command and Salome accused her husband, Herod had both put to death. As I have said, this ac-

count gives in brief form the same dramatic situation as the other two. What the actual historical facts in the case were, we need not consider. Here is the unwrought gold of story as told by Josephus. How will it be fashioned?

Other Authors' Use of the Herod-Mariamne Story.

Most of the plays which have used the Herod-Mariamne story as a plot have been summarized by Landau in his article "Die Dramen von Herodes und Mariamne" (*Zeitschrift für vergleichende Litteraturgeschichte*, Vols. 8, 9). W. Grack in his "Studien über die dramatische Behandlung der Geschichte von Herodes und Mariamne in der englische und deutschen Litteratur. (Masinger, Fenton, Hebbel, Stephen Phillips)" has summarized more fully those which he treats. These articles I have used, but I have also examined the plays on the subject by Sachs, Hebbel, Hardy, Cary, Voltaire, Fenton and Phillips.

In the treatment of the story, some of the earlier writers, Sachs, Sampson and Markham, have simply dramatised the events in chronicle play style; but most have centered attention upon the love story of Herod and Mariamne with its tragic outcome. The other phases of the story, the murder of Aristobulus, the plotting and scheming of Alexandra, especially the picture plot, even the execution of Mariamne's sons, which occurred long after her death, have been used as helps to the secret command for embroiling the situation between Herod and Mariamne. In most cases, too, Herod's sister appears as accuser of Mariamne, usually because of hatred, though in Hebbel's play more for love of her brother. She usually, however, has the darker, which is the historical, color, this side of her character being emphasized by the poison plot. Yet the thing that brings conviction to Herod is generally the discovery that Mariamne knows the secret command. The death of Mariamne comes in a few plays by the dagger in Herod's own hands, but in most cases she is sent out to be executed. Then follows regularly Herod's obsession, sometimes with the Biblical visit of the three wise men and command for the slaughter of the infants, thrown in for greater color effect. So much for plot.

In the character-representation of these authors, Herod is always the bloody but able tyrant. In the earlier plays, the bloody

side is emphasized, he being, especially in plays under Senecan influence, a veritable raw-head-and-bloody-bones, revelling in blood and murder—the Herod of the miracle plays. But in the historical development, this side of his character has been rather overshadowed by the able tyrant side and he appears in the modern psychological plays rather as the able tyrant who has risen from the ranks and is willing to use whatever means may be necessary to retain his position, thereby being brought into conflict with his wife, whom he loves tenderly, not with the brute passion of the source.

Opposed to him is the proud Mariamne. In the earlier plays, she has much of the beautiful tigress about her. Whatever she may have felt toward him before, when these plays open, she hates him and does but wait her opportunity to be revenged. This indeed is the Mariamne of Josephus, who has come really to hate Herod for the murder of her kinsmen, especially for that of her brother, and is finally driven to open expression of her hatred when she herself is nearly aimed at in the secret command. But for such a woman we are not likely to feel much sympathy. Therefore, we find her character treated more and more sympathetically, till in the modern psychologised and emotionalised plays she becomes the woman who has loved Herod dearly and is only driven from that love by the deeds of Herod. They thus both become entangled in the tragic web of circumstance. Herod is forced by his position to do the deeds which alienate Mariamne from him.

Salome, too, has had a fairly constant place and development. She, sometimes with her mother as a minor figure, is the opponent and accuser of Mariamne. Her motive in the earlier plays is simply hatred and a desire for revenge. Yet Hebbel has raised and ennobled her character by making her motive a sincere love of her brother and an honest belief that Mariamne has wronged him. She, too, is a victim of circumstance, thereby heightening the emotional tone.

The man to whom the secret command is given, usually Salome's husband, appears regularly also. In the source and earlier plays, he is just a good-natured fellow, a loyal supporter of the king, in whose defense he blabs the secret command. He is usually barely sketched in, being needed only to betray the secret

command, be suspected, and pay the penalty. But there are emotional possibilities here that are not to be overlooked. Therefore, in Hebbel's play his faithfulness and loyalty are heightened and given more prominent place, another victim of impelling circumstance.

These four figures and their relations form the constant elements of the story, emphasis being placed now on one character or side of a character, now on another, according to the author's point of view. The other characters and incidents are only brought in as they are needed for the author's purpose in his major situation. Alexandra appears sometimes. Aristobulus appears, as a ghost in the Senecan plays, as a living person in Phillip's play, in which the love of Mariamne is changed to dislike before our eyes because of the treacherous murder of her brother.

The Herod story well illustrates the many changes and forms the drama has passed through in its development from the emphasis upon story as such with the characters roughly sketched in, to the emphasis upon character with the figures psychologised and emotionalised. It represents in its development the important literary types also—Chronicle, Senecan, Classic, etc.,—being cast into whatever form the taste of the age demanded. A full treatment of it from this point of view would be very interesting, but the limits of this introduction forbid fuller development here.

Massinger's Use of the Herod-Mariamne Story.

Now Massinger is evidently out of the line of the historical development. To begin with, his Sforza has little of the Herod left. He is proud and fearless as is Herod, he is loyal to his friends and loves his wife passionately; but the attitudes of Josephus and Massinger toward the character are considerably different. Sforza is intended to show the better side of the jealous lover and to attract our sympathy. His motives are somewhat different. His command is given not from suspicion and jealousy of a particular individual, but from the desire that he may not be parted from his wife even in death. He has no past history of murders so far as we know. In one respect only is he allowed to have sinned, in the seduction of a woman, and even that is seemingly admitted grudgingly to motivate the hatred that led

to his death. There is just enough of the Herod deeds to show from what source he is drawn but the attitude taken toward him is different.

Marcelia is still the proud queen Mariamne, but she always loves Sforza and is never brought to hate him. She does resent his secret command and does show her resentment, but she loves him to the last.

Mariana and Isabella play much the same part as Salome and her mother in Josephus. It is in Francisco, the Joseph-Sohemus of the story, that Massinger makes his second great change. Francisco appears at first to be the faithful friend, but we later find that he is the injured man only waiting his chance to exact revenge. His character has thus been completely altered and his position changed and raised so that he becomes one of the chief characters in the play. He it is that guides the tragic action and brings about the catastrophe. Massinger introduces certain other important characters, Pescara, Graccho, Eugenia, who are not found in the source, though Eugenia may have been suggested to Massinger by Herod's first wife, Doris, whom he put away for Mariamne. These characters are called for by the turn he chooses to give the plot. We still have, however, the same general outline to the story. The passionately loving husband who is called away on a journey that seems to mean death, and leaves orders that his wife shall not survive him, the wife who discovers the secret and receives him coldly upon his return after he has outfaced his danger in a noble way, the estrangement which is thus brought about between the two and is fomented by the sister and mother, who because of envy accuse the wife of improper relations with the sister's husband, the jealous rage which leads the husband to put his wife to death, and the final mad scene of the husband who will not believe his wife dead—all these are taken over from the Herod-Mariamne story.

Alterations

Influence of Othello.

Why did Massinger make the changes in character and the consequent changes in plot which have just been enumerated? Because, as I believe, he saw in this story of the jealous husband

as told in Josephus, an opportunity to work out a tragedy of the *Othello* type, a tragedy of intrigue with the noble loving husband and equally loving and beautiful wife separated and brought to a tragic end through the machinations of a third person, the intriguer which the type demands. With this general plan in view, he made the changes. He did not slavishly imitate. Sforza is not Othello; nor Marcelia, Desdemona; and it is a far cry from Francisco to Iago. Massinger, the student and clever workman, saw the possibility of reworking the Herod-Mariamne story in the *Othello* type, the tragedy of intrigue, and proceeded to reshape characters and plot accordingly. The result is neither a Herod story nor a mere imitation of *Othello*, but an independent production showing its relation to both.

The Historical Setting.

To this Herod-Mariamne story, reshaped in the *Othello* type, Massinger has given what may be termed a historical setting. Because of his great changes in the story, he perhaps did not feel entitled to name it after its true source. Therefore, he fell back on a dramatic convention, as says the Prologue to *The Woman Hater* (printed first 1607) "a duke there is, and the scene lies in Italy, as those two things lightly we never miss" and laid his scene in Milan, using certain historical names connected with a well known phase of history. We have Ludovico Sforza—though it is recognized in the table of *Dramatis Personae* that in this connection he is only a "supposed Duke",—the Marquis of Pescara, "The Emperour Charles and Francis the French king" all clustering round the battle of Pavia. But Massinger has made very sweeping changes in order to fit the material to his purpose. The historical facts concerning the various persons mentioned are briefly as follows:

Though not in title, yet in power, Ludovico Sforza became head of Milan in 1479. In 1480 he made his position more secure by getting under his control his young nephew, the titular Duke of Milan. When his nephew died in 1491, he usurped the power as Duke of Milan. He was the centre of the scheming and plotting of the Italian cities where, to paraphrase an old saying, "Each city was for itself and the French king for all." He played into the hands of Charles VIII until the power of the

French king began to be too great, then he turned against him. Thenceforward, he was in continuous struggle with the kings of France until he was finally made prisoner to Louis XII, April 10, 1500, in which captivity he died. He made a great impression on the men of his time, but he sometimes showed lack of courage and "nerve" under the stress of danger.

In the later war between Spain and France for supremacy in Italy, under Charles of Spain and Francis of France, Francesco Sforza, son of Ludovico, took part on the side of Charles, his reward to be restoration to his father's position as Duke of Milan. Again Milan was the storm center. "The possession of Milan, on which the struggle chiefly turned was a luxury to France, a point of vital importance to Charles, so long as he held the kingdoms of Naples and Sicily together with the Netherlands". Francesco does not seem to have played so very important a part as a leader. In the battle of Pavia, "The French army was destroyed, the French King was captured, and all his most illustrious commanders were taken prisoners or killed." When Francis later renewed the war, Francesco had gone over to his side, following the consistent policy of the Dukes of Milan. He received various drubbings, as had his father before him, but was restored to Milan under certain conditions when Charles was finally the conqueror. He died November 1, 1535, only a few months after his marriage to Christina of Denmark.

In these struggles between the two kings, the Marquis of Pescara played an important part. Of him Guicciardini says: "The death of the Marquis of Pisquairo, who . . . made his last end happily by the iust sentence of God, who would not suffer him to enioy the frute of that seede which he had sowen with so great malignity. . . . He began to follow armes at Rauenna, where, being very younge he was taken prisoner. And afterwards aspyring to a reputacion of a Capteine, he followed all the warres which the Spanyards had in Italy. Insomuch as though he had not past the age of XXXVI yeres, yet for experience he was olde, for inuencion suttile, in counsell graue, in execucion resolute, wise to foresee a daunger, and quicke to auoid a mischiefe: he bare great authoritie and credit with the infanterie of Spayne, ouer whom as he had bene of long, capteine generall: so both the victorie at Pauia and all other actions of merit executed by that army

since certaine yeares, were principally succeeded by his counsel and by his vertue: he was assuredly a capteine of great vallour, but one that with arte and dissimulacion, knewe how to drawe fauor and grace to his doings, being besides, prowde of minde, of wit deceitfull, of nature malicious, of councill and action without sincerity, and so singular in his owne weening, that oftentimes he hath bene heard saye, that he was more worthy to haue Spayne for his contry than Italy."²²

Massinger, then, has made use of the general situation of the first struggle between Charles and Francis with its culmination at Pavia. But he substitutes the father Ludovico for the son, Francesco Sforza, possibly because Ludovico was the better known of the two. According to the plot from Josephus, the Duke must be on the losing side. Therefore, he is attached to the French, whereas the real Francesco Sforza at this battle was with the Spanish. However, Ludovico had been originally with the French, and Francesco was allied with them after this battle. As in the play, the Marquis of Pescara was on the side of Charles. The general situation at the battle of Pavia may have decided Massinger to use this story. But there is another element that may have influenced him also. After Charles had a second time conquered Francis, on whose side Francesco Sforza was then fighting, Guicciardini says: "When Frauncis Sforza was brought to the presence of the Emperour at Bologna, and hauing with humilitie and submission praised his benignitie in admitting him to his presence: He told him that so much did he reappose for him selfe in his owne iustice and equitie, that for all things happened before the Marquis of Pisquairo' restrained him in the castell of Myllan, he desired no other property of suretie or supporte then his owne innocencie: And that therefore he renounced frankly the safe conduit, the bill of escript whereof the Duke holding in his hande, he layed it at his feete, a matter which much pleased the Emperour" (1160-1). This slightly repeats the situation of Herod before Caesar though "Frauncis" had to pay a heavy indemnity. The historical material then is very slight and is adapted to fit the situation of the Herod plot. From this historical material, however, he added to the Herod plot another

²² The Historie of Guicciardin, . . . Reduced into English by Geffray Fenton, 1579, pp. 943-4.

character with a well known name, Pescara. Massinger needed a friend and confidant for Sforza. Here was an opportunity to bring in another famous name. Therefore he used Pescara as the intimate friend of Sforza. This whole element amounts to very little more than using historical Italian names for a background.

Can a definite source be assigned for Massinger's historical information? The statement has been generally made that he used Guicciardini's *Istoria d'Italia*, Books 16-19,²³ where this story is told. If he had done so, he would likely have used Fenton's translation. But I have found nothing which proves conclusively that he used this for a source, the fact that it was well known being the strongest point in its favor. On the other hand, the attitude of Guicciardini toward some of the characters is considerably different from that of Massinger, for instance, toward Pescara, his opinion of whom I have quoted above. Since Massinger's use of the historical facts is so general, and since he might easily have obtained so much knowledge in some other way, there is no evidence for Guicciardini as his source.

The Borrowing from The Second Maiden's Tragedy.

One other element of the play can be traced to its source, the poison scene; V, 2. Of course, there are several poison scenes by kissing, in preceding tragedy. In *Soliman and Perseda* (licensed 1592), the lady secures revenge by a poisoned kiss. In *The Revenger's Tragedy* (pr. 1607), the kissing of a poisoned skull secures the needed revenge. In *The White Devil* (pr. 1612), Isabella meets death by kissing the poisoned picture of her husband. Poison administered in other ways figures in various tragedies of the period:—*Valentinian* (not later than 1614), *Wife for a Month* (licensed 1624), etc. With none of these, however, can Massinger be connected except possibly *The Revenger's Tragedy*. In Act II, Scene 1, of this tragedy we have:

"O angels, clap your wings upon the skies,
And give this virgin crystal plaudits."

Massinger writes in *The Duke of Milan*, V, 2, 57-9:

a worke
The saints will smile to looke on, & good Angels
Clap their Celestiall wings to giue it plaudits.

²³ Biographia Dramatica, 1782, followed by Gifford, etc.

Again in *The Maid of Honour*, V, I (279b) Massinger writes:

*and seraphic angels
Clap their celestial wings in heavenly plaudits.*

It seems probable, then, that Massinger borrowed this expression from *The Revenger's Tragedy*; but in no case can that play be considered a source for the poison scene in *The Duke of Milan*, though the general situation of revenge sought and wrought through a poisoned kiss may have made due and lasting impression upon Massinger.

There is, however, a definite source for this poison scene of *The Duke of Milan*, and that is the concluding scene of the play licensed by Sir George Buc, 31 October, 1611, as "This second Maydens tragedy (for it hath no name inscribed)". Massinger imitated Act V, Scene 2 of this play in some rather minute points of conduct and even in many of the ideas there expressed, so much so indeed that his use of it may be considered an adaptation.

For conduct, near the beginning of V, 2, of *The Second Maiden's Tragedy*, "They bringe the Body in a chaire drest vp in black veluet which setts out the pailenes of the handes and face, And a faire Chayne of pearle crosse her brest and the Cru-cyfixe about it; He standes silent awhile letting the Musique play, becknyng the soldiers that bringe her in to make obeisaunce to her, and he hym self makes a lowe honour to the body and kisses the hande". In *Duke of Milan*, V, 2, 47, "Enter Sforza, Isabella, Mariana, the body of Marcellia, Doctors, Seruants". Sforza exhorts the servants to care (47-8), remarks how pale Marcellia looks (60) and speaks of the snow white hand (63), all of which elements figure in the direction above in much the same way. Sforza also evidently kisses the hand (63) as does the Tyrant. In fact, we might almost say that Massinger has here given his scene directions in verse, a characteristic method of procedure with him.

The next section in both plays has to do with getting the prisoner on the scene. In *The Second Maiden's Tragedy*, the Tyrant sends for a painter who is to produce the semblance of life; in *The Duke of Milan*, the supposed Jewish doctor offers his service. Massinger has here adapted the situation to his plot, which imposes the condition that Sforza shall consider Marcellia living

while the Tyrant has no delusions of the kind, merely a mad whim of the moment. Yet even he wishes he could "send for one to renew heat within her bosom". In both plays, the corpse is then painted; in *The Second Maiden's Tragedy*, the Tyrant being by; in *The Duke of Milan*, Sforza being off, another necessary change. Finally comes the exposure, brought about voluntarily on the part of the poisoner in *The Second Maiden's Tragedy*, involuntarily in *The Duke of Milan* because of exigencies of plot. In both, the poisoner glories in his deed; but in *The Second Maiden's Tragedy* he is made king, while in *The Duke of Milan* he is led to his doom, the alteration being again demanded by exigencies of plot. It may be noticed, too, that the place of the ghost in *The Second Maiden's Tragedy* is taken in *The Duke of Milan* by Eugenia, she being the injured in honor. Massinger thus avoids a ghostly visitation for which he seems to have had no special inclination, if we may judge by the fact that only once in his unassisted work, in *The Unnatural Combat*, does he deal in such. Thus, in conduct, the two scenes are so much alike that we may consider the scene in *The Duke of Milan* an adaptation of that in *The Second Maiden's Tragedy*.

Corroborative of this conclusion is Massinger's use of many of the same ideas that occur in V, 2, of *The Second Maiden's Tragedy*. Says the Tyrant (2244-47):

*I can see nothing to be mended in thee
but the too constant palenes of thy cheecke
I'de giue the kingdome, but to purchase ther
the breadth of a red Rose, in naturall colour*

Sforza, according to Pescara (V, 2, 39-41):

*swore,
Provided they recouer'd her, he would liue
A priuate man & they should share his dukedom.*

The Tyrant says to the corpse (2260-64):

*It is no shame for thee most silent mistris
to stand in need of Arte, when youthe
and all thy warm frendes has forsooke thee,
weemen aliue are gladd to seeke her frendship
to make vp the faire number of their graces*

Again, when Gouianus does not see at once that the face wants painting, the king says to him (2294-5):

*thy apprehension has to grosse a felme
to be ymployd at Court*

Francisco says to the corpse (V, 2, 183-8):

*your ladiship lookes pale
But I, your Doctor, haue a ceruse for you,
See my Eugenia, how many faces
That are ador'd in Court borrow these helpes,
And passe for excellence, when the better part
O them are like to this*

It is along this line that Francisco's remarks run as he paints the corpse. Gouianus, as he paints, says (2317-19):

*A religious trembling shakes me by the hand
and bids me put by such unhallowed business
but reveng calls fort*

Eugenia, as she watches the painting, says (V, 2, 197-9):

*I tremble
And thus to tirannize vpon the dead
Is most inhumane.
Franc[isco]. Come we for reuenge[?]*

Other minor instances might be quoted, but these will show how Massinger echoes, as it were, many of the ideas and to a slight degree the expressions of *The Second Maiden's Tragedy*.

One other part of this play may have had its effect upon Massinger. In Act IV, sc. 3 (1856-62), the Tyrant says, speaking to the corpse of the Lady:

*I once read of a Herod whose affection
pursued a virgins loue, as I did thine
whoe for the hate she owd him kilde her self
(as thow to rashlie didst,) wth out all pittie:
yet he preserud her bodie dead in honie
and kept her longe after her funeral.*

This reference is to another Herod story or to another version of the Herod-Mariamne story. It would seem, then, that Massinger might have found in *The Second Maiden's Tragedy* the germ of suggestion for combining the Herod story and the poison catastrophe. At any rate, it is evident that he got the poison

catastrophe from this play, but here again it was a case of adaptation, the method of the student, rather than a case of direct copying.

Indeed, so noticeable is the likeness here that some would assign Massinger a part in *The Second Maiden's Tragedy*. Tieck²⁴ would identify the play with Massinger's supposed tragedy, *The Tyrant*, as the principal character is the "Usurping Tirant" and as in his opinion the whole conduct of the play is such as we would expect from the youthful Massinger. Phelan²⁵ follows Tieck, restating his theory. Boyle²⁶ says: "From the metrical character of the play it is in vain to look for help as it has no very prominent peculiarities. On the whole, in spite of the metrical difficulties and the want of allusions distinctly connecting it with other Massinger plays, I feel disposed to regard it as an early, anonymous and unsuccessful attempt of our author's who made use of the death scene in his later play." Later²⁷ he says, "Massinger's hand is traceable in the first two acts." It will be seen that he gives no proof for his opinion; in fact, admits that it cannot be proved by the characteristics he has used throughout his work as tests of Massinger.

Oliphant,²⁸ however, says: "the play contains no sign of either" Fletcher or Massinger. Fleay²⁹ did not feel that Massinger had any hand in it. Schelling³⁰ does not think it belongs to Tourneur "much less does it seem the youthful effort of a born dramatist such as Massinger". I myself can not find in the play any trace of Massinger's characterization, speech structure, repeated phrases and ideas, or metrical peculiarities. Lack of these cannot in my opinion be accounted for by saying that this is a youthful work, for Massinger's style and mental habit did not change, but merely developed and are as distinct in the earliest of his known work as in the latest. Therefore, I have no hesitation in saying that Massinger had nothing to do with the writing of *The Second Maiden's Tragedy*.

²⁴ Shakespeare's vorschule. Leipzig, 1823, Vol. 2, vorrede, p. xl ff.

²⁵ Anglia, II, 47.

²⁶ Engl. Stud., IX, 234.

²⁷ D. N. B., article Massinger, XXXVII, 11a.

²⁸ Engl. Stud., XIV, 76.

²⁹ Biog. Chron., ii, 330.

³⁰ Eliz. Dram., i, 599.

Massinger, then, has taken the Herod-Mariamne story of Josephus, recast it in the Othello type, and set it for interest in Italian history of the time of the Sforzas. The last scene of the story he has modeled upon *The Second Maiden's Tragedy*.

MASSINGER AS POET-DRAMATIST

If we would know a writer's artistic theory, we should attempt to look at his problems and his work through his own eyes and see what he himself thought and said about them, what his artistic aims were. Fortunately we have some statements from Massinger himself as to what should be expected and praised in a play. In the Prologue to *The Emperor of the East*, he mentions rather prominently the "proportion" "and the scope" of the "invention" of the play as merits. In his commendatory verses to Shirley's *Grateful Servant*, he gives his own poetic aims and aspirations in the points he finds to praise:

*Here are no forced expressions, no rack'd phrase;
No Babel compositions to amaze
The tortured reader; no believed defence
To strengthen the bold Atheist's insolence
No obscene syllable, that may compel
A blush from a chaste maid; but all so well
Express'd and order'd, as wise men must say
It is a grateful poem, a good play.*

Thus Massinger insists upon three things as essential: good order or plot, moral content in word and character, and good expression. These lines contain in brief Massinger's whole artistic aim and theory. The things that he insists upon he is eminent in. His aim and results are conscious.

THE "STAGE-POET"

Massinger was not the inspired poet but the conscientious workman of more than usual ability. This clever workmanship is shown in the stage craft, plotting, or "ordering" of his plays. His plots are well worked out according to a definite method of procedure and however much one may dissent from his taste and judgment at times, one feels that he has carefully considered what he is doing and has a definite purpose in it. First, he selects the five most important, and at the same time most striking,

points in his story. Each of these he makes the climax of an act. The first act is introductory, having as its climax the inciting motive of the play, the problem whose solution gives tragedy or comedy. This is a rule of his construction, almost without exception. The fifth act of course contains the denouement, the solution of the problem. With the climax of the third act, the action of the play takes its final turn, enters its final phase. The fourth act is the connecting link between the climax of the third and that of the fifth. It usually leads just up to the denouement, the catastrophe, but if the catastrophe is double—as it often is in the stage-poet, Massinger, who can't pass the opportunity for a good climax—one catastrophe forms the climax of the fourth act. In much the same way, the second act connects the climax of the first and that of the third. Thus the climaxes of the first, third, and fifth acts in any story of Massinger are fixed by the purpose he has in the play. The climax of the fourth is also fixed in case the catastrophe is double, that of the second is most variable of all.

The Duke of Milan well illustrates Massinger's formula. Indeed the fact that this play has the fifth act at all instead of ending with the fourth act is characteristic of Massinger's purpose and method of construction. His purpose, to show :

ther's no trust

In a foundation that is built on lust.

demands catastrophe for Sforza. Looking at his material, he finds five points of naturally high interest in the development of the story. First, the giving of the secret command; second, the revealing of the secret command to Marcelia; third, Marcelia's break with Sforza because of the secret command, the turning point; fourth, Sforza's rash execution of Marcelia; fifth, the effect on Sforza. Neither the moralist in him nor the playwright with his eye to stage effect would permit him to sacrifice the last act. Consequently these points were fitted into his formula.

Fletcher also usually tries to close his Act with a climax, a big scene, but he has no care for careful preparation or regular construction leading up to this climax. He must have at least one big scene, with which to close his Act; if he can manage to get more to the Act, the more the better. A fundamental difference,

too, between the closing scenes of the two dramatists is that Massinger's emphasized scene is, as I have said, nearly always an important section of the main story; Fletcher's may be merely a striking humorous scene which might be left entirely out without detriment to the plot. This is indeed typical of Fletcher's attitude toward plot. To him that plot was best which furnished a thread upon which the greatest number of striking situations might be strung, naturally, incidentally, or accidentally. He paints each striking situation which suggested itself, to the limit of its possibilities with little regard to its importance. His excellence is in the scene, the situation, rather than in the whole. His acts are often arbitrary divisions of the play, not natural, as it is the scene or situation upon which he centers his attention. Therefore, Fletcher's work is likely to be sketchy and undigested, a charge which cannot be brought against Massinger's plots.

Massinger's formula for his first act or introduction is also capable of rather definite statement. He gets his action under way at once and works up to the exciting motive for a climax. The question at issue is brought forward in the first scene and is often fully before us within the first one hundred lines. His favorite method of presenting this is by the conversation of two of the characters, in which the problem is stated and the characters and relations of the principal figures are given us. Then with this preparation, the principal characters are brought on, and begin the action at once. This introductory conversation, however, may be between the principal characters themselves as in *The Picture*, where no past history is needed to explain the situation. Such a device necessarily has a tendency to become merely mechanical, to show too evidently the purpose it is intended to serve. But Massinger usually manages to motivate the device in some natural way, for instance, Cleon in *The Emperor of the East* has just returned from six years travel and wishes to know the news.

In this respect, too, *The Duke of Milan* is a characteristic Massinger play. The author begins with a striking scene, calculated to catch the attention at once, the drunken conversation of Graccho and Jovio. Having thus caught the attention, he proceeds by means of a conversation between two courtiers to get before us the necessary information as to the situation—the im-

pending climax of the war, the love of Sforza for his wife, and the trouble that exists between her and Sforza's mother and sister—all in a scene of one hundred and twenty-six lines. With the second scene begins the action, which gets well under way in the third. Another habit of Massinger is well illustrated here in his preparation for the entrance of Marcelia. The drunkards are crying healths in her name, the lords discuss and praise her, the ladies discuss and envy her, the gentlemen are thinking of her, and she finally enters in state with the Duke bowing before her. Massinger in his best work prepares carefully for the smaller climax within the act just as he does for the grand climax at the end of it. From the beginning, the action moves steadily and directly forward to the inciting motive of the play, Sforza's secret command to Francisco to kill Marcelia in event of his failure to return. The first act, then, is a unit with its own action rising to a striking climax of high interest.

This indeed is true of each act in the play. The second act begins with a preparatory conversation between two lords, connecting the action of this act with that of the preceding and preparing for further developments. It then works up naturally to the climax at the end with Francisco's proposal and betrayal of the command in deepened colors, and Marcelia's fainting, proud defiance, and scornful taunt to do his worst. The third likewise begins with a preparatory conversation, and works through various turns to the climax of Marcelia's cold reception of Sforza and his "temporary insanity", to use the modern phrase. The fourth begins with a scene preparatory for Graccho's attempted revenge and closes with the grand climax of the play, the death of Marcelia at Sforza's own hand. Up to this point there has been a regular rise in the action of the play as a whole and this is the true climax of interest.

The fifth act is very noticeably a unit with its own climax and really constitutes a separate thread of the play. In fact, it might almost be considered as a separate tragedy forming the conclusion to the preceding. This fault in construction is the result in good part of two characteristics which are usually to be accounted to Massinger for excellencies. The one is his habit of unity and directness of development, taking only one thing at a time. As a consequence of this characteristic, his plots are usually single.

He rarely handles double or complicated plots and when he does, is not always successful, for they are sometimes too clearly double or complicated and not sufficiently fused together, as in *The Parliament of Love*. The whole story of *The Duke of Milan* to the beginning of the fifth act has proceeded in almost direct line, with as few changes and shifts as possible.³¹ At this point, therefore, it is necessary to go back and bring up the Eugenia story at which he has before but hinted darkly. The other characteristic is his habit of keeping certain elements of the story concealed as long as possible in order to obtain suspense or surprise. A very good illustration of this habit is to be found in the whispered request of *A New Way to Pay Old Debts*. But in *The Duke of Milan*, though he has put his sign posts at the beginning and at the end of the second act so that the break may not be too great, we overlook them, are at a loss to account for the true reason of Francisco's plotting and must readjust ourselves when we do find the reason. His fifth act, then, violates the unity of the play by introducing a new motive or action, not because he did not plan it carefully, but because he did and simply erred in his judgment. This is characteristic of all Massinger's work, his plays are carefully plotted and proceed with precision along prepared though sometimes mistaken lines.

The habit of writing with the act as unit may have been fostered by Massinger's early training as a collaborator. In his collaboration, certain sections of the play were assigned him, each of which sections he worked up as a separate unit whether it were a scene or an act. It is significant that in all but a very few cases Massinger was given the first act to work out,³² since care-

³¹ As an illustration of how careful he has been to keep the thread of the story without break, we may notice his treatment of the time element in the play. By the necessities of the case Sforza's journey between the end of the first act and that of the third had to occupy considerable time. In order to bridge over the break Massinger used the device of double time. For a full discussion of this, see note to I, 1, 4.

³² In eighteen collaborated plays where Massinger has any considerable part (*Barnavelti, Bloody Brother, Custom of the Country, Double Marriage, Elder Brother, Fair Maid of the Inn, False One, Fatal Dowry, Little French Lawyer, Love's Cure, Lovers' Progress, The Prophetess, Queen of Corinth, Sea Voyage, Spanish Curate, Thierry and Theodoret, Very Woman, Virgin Martyr*), as critics agree, Massinger wrote the entire first

fully plotted work is especially necessary here in order to get the facts before us. These first acts are worked out regularly according to the first act formula stated above. It is equally significant that in collaboration Massinger writes in almost every last act, as there again careful work is required to gather up the threads of the play in unified completeness. The usual division of labor seems to have been for Massinger to work out the plot and to write about one third of the play, for the other author to write the other two thirds. Massinger's one third contribution consisted in his writing the first act almost without exception, in his usually giving considerable aid in the last act, and in writing some of the most dignified scenes within the play, especially trial scenes. If it was possible to combine these three types of contribution in one thread or plot of the story, it was usually done. It seems, then, that Massinger's strength was recognized as lying in plot and serious scene.

Indeed we know that this was the contemporary estimate of his ability. Langbaine (1691) tells us that Massinger's plays "were highly esteem'd of by the Wits of those times, for the purity of stile, and the Oeconomy of their Plots". In a poem "On the Time Poets",³³ printed in 1656, we are told of:

*Massinger that knowes
The strength of plot to write in verse and prose
Whose easie Pegasus will amble ore
Some threescore miles of fancy in an houre.*³⁴

The recognition of this ability of Massinger is summed up for us by his friend and admirer Sir Aston Cockaine in the catchphrase which Mr. Cunningham has used on his volume, "The Stage-poet". This Massinger was in an eminent degree and this it was that he aimed to be, if we ministerpret not his own previously quoted testimony.

It is interesting to note that so modern a critic as Professor act of twelve, the major portions of two more, and had no part in the first act of only three. In the same plays, he wrote the entire last act of six and had a hand, usually a main one, in all save one. I intend to treat this matter more fully in a later work.

³³ The Shakespeare Society's Papers, Vol. III, p. 172.

³⁴ It may be noticed in passing that the attribution here of prose to Massinger is necessitated by the need of a rhyme for "knows."

Brander Matthews⁸⁵ places the same kind of estimate upon Massinger as did his contemporaries. "A dramatic poet he is beyond question, but he is far greater as dramatist than he is as poet. . . . His merit is in the structure and conduct of each of his plays as a whole. . . . It is only when he is considered as a playwright, pure and simple, that Massinger shows to best advantage and that he takes rank over his contemporary rivals. As a playwright, pure and simple, Massinger demands a place immediately after Shakespeare." This statement I accept as a just estimate of Massinger's power as a playwright. He was the conscientious, skilled workman.

THE "MORAL" CHARACTER PORTRAYER

When we consider Massinger's treatment of character, we still find careful planning. Each play as a whole usually has a purpose, a moral underlying; and lest we might overlook it, he often drives it home with his moral tag at the end.

*May we make use of
This great example, and learn from it, that
There cannot be a want of power above
To punish murder and unlawful love!*

There you have the moral of *The Unnatural Combat*.

*And learn from this example, there's no trust
In a foundation that is built on lust.*

There is the guiding principle of *The Duke of Milan*, and so on. Of course, this tendency would appear most plainly in his most serious plays, but even in the lighter plays, whether the moral element be labeled at the end or not, it is always to be felt in the play. His characters and their actions will consequently be shaped to make evident this underlying moral purpose.

With such an aim, the characters are likely to be types rather than individuals. Even Sir Giles Overreach is the emphasized type, the "humor" character. This purpose accounts also for the lack of convincingness of some of Massinger's villains or those who are not wholly good. There is no gradual process of

⁸⁵ C. M. Gayley, *Representative English Comedies*, Vol. II, Introduction to *A New Way to Pay Old Debts*.

deterioration in character. They simply shift from good to bad when the exigencies of plot demand it. Still, when we come to the end, we know clearly what Massinger intended his character to be, whether we agree that he has succeeded in making it that or not. Therefore, we find no puzzling questions of interpretations of character. He does not permit himself to be carried away into irregularities by throwing his whole interest into the painting of some unit of humanity that has fascinated him. A conscious craftsman, he has a story to bring forward, usually with a moral purpose behind it. Therefore, he must have the types of persons who would logically work out that story. They are made accordingly. Thus it is that we often feel that his characters have a certain stiffness and aloofness, that they move but not with their own motion. So it is easy in *The Duke of Milan* to see to what type Massinger intended each of his characters to belong. Sforza is a proud, noble, but doting prince; Marcelia is an equally proud, noble, and loving princess; and Francisco is intended to be the gentleman seeking to redress his wounded honor, etc. But I can not feel that any one of them attains to the rank of individuals.

Massinger's characterization, then, is not for character's sake primarily, but for his moral story's sake; and each scene, almost each speech, contributes definitely to the advancement of the story. Such an attitude on Massinger's part accounts for the objection often raised that his actors speak out of character, that his pure heroine, for instance, will betray a knowledge of evil and will speak of it in a manner that would raise our suspicion in a real person, or that his modest heroine trumpets her own praises abroad. The knowledge displayed by the heroine is not her own but Massinger's. So is also her insistence upon her virtue and goodness. Massinger wants us to know that she stands for all goodness and can do no wrong. Therefore he, speaking through her, tells us so in order that there may be no mistake.

The encounter between Francisco and Marcelia, II, I, well illustrates this attitude of Massinger's. Their conversation is a debate covering the various phases of the point at issue rather than a quarrel resulting from the righteous anger of an insulted woman. It is a question with Marcelia of that abstract possession of hers called chastity. If Francisco will find a single act

of hers so loosely carried as to lead one to hope to gain her favor, she will be his strumpet. Because of this attitude, the characters often have the air of impersonality. They speak of these various abstract qualities as if they were mere concrete physical possessions, they tell us what they feel instead of showing us how they feel, speaking of their own emotions as if they belonged to some one else. The same attitude is quite as apparent in Massinger's treatment of his evil characters, Francisco for instance. We are never long at a loss to know how he regards them, it is with full disapprobation. In this he contrasts strongly with Fletcher, who was not troubled with conscientious scruples. If ever the moral side of a thing entered Fletcher's head, he doesn't show it. Therefore, his characters of the worse sort are sketched in with a lightness and sympathy which makes them real, understandable human beings. Massinger, lacking this sympathy, produces unreal, unrelieved, automata of evil.

These facts are but the result of a general characteristic in Massinger. He has a tendency to let his characters tell us what they are and feel rather than to make them speak and act in such a way as to show us what they are and feel. At the crisis of action, one of his characters is likely to inform us, "I feel a sudden alteration". Not only does the character inform us of his or her own symptoms, but we are likely to have our attention called to them by the comments of other characters, informing us of what we are supposed to be observing for ourselves. The scene between Sforza and the Emperor (III, 1) is a case in point. The comments of the three soldiers call our attention to the points which the author wishes us especially to notice and for which the scene was written. Sforza has not come in the usual fashion of a suitor, nor is he a flatterer; but speaks nobly, winning the admiration of the soldiers so that the Emperor does not seem to act fast enough but sits like a block. Such are the comments, such is the purpose of the scene. These speeches in this case serve the double purpose of first, pointing to the main facts of the scene, giving the attitude that is to be taken toward Sforza, and the interpretation that is to be put on his actions, and second of breaking up the long speeches. Such a device is here not wholly ineffective, but it is decidedly overworked when we have our attention called to some action that we should plainly see taking place before our eyes as:

*She frownes as if
Her looks could fright us*

(II, 1, 121-2.)

It is as if the careful stage poet were putting his stage directions in the text. Under modern conditions, Massinger's stage directions would be worked out in more detail than George Bernard Shaw's. Some character, too, is practically certain, either after the others have gone, or in an aside, to tell us what problem is facing him or her and sometimes tells us what is to be the course of action, though the conclusion is often "something I shall do". The problem is also often brought before us by means of argument or debate, in which Massinger delighted. Now most of these things help toward clearness of plot and story, but they are blemishes upon character drawing. The playwright overshadows the creator of character.

This attitude also explains the fact that Massinger's characters sometimes become bombastic. It is the natural result of characterisation with stage effect chiefly in view. If you wish your characters to rise to the occasion, let them talk louder, and paint things more luridly. Yet Massinger's natural dignity and seriousness act as a check upon him and it is only upon very great occasions, such as Sforza's sorrow for Marcellia, that he becomes disagreeably bombastic. Perhaps even there, the fact that Sforza is mad should be taken into consideration.

All these considerations point to one conclusion, Massinger, in the drawing of character, worked from the outside, at best drew types. He could reason out in logical sequence what the guiding principles of his characters should be and what were the acts that in a moral world would correspond to these; but when he tried to put this in the concrete form of character, he was not able to breathe into his creations that breath of life which would cause them to live and move and have their being.

Yet to admit that he does work with types, that he does characterise from the outside is not necessarily to condemn him absolutely. Such a method will hardly give us the vivid personal feeling that comes from the truly psychologized character, but it has the advantage of presenting clearly and at a glance what the author intended his audience to understand, it gets across the foot lights easily and without effort. It is the stage method,

even more strongly used by Fletcher; and is precisely what we would expect of the conscientious workman who is striving to meet the stage condition he knows so well, from long experience and observation.

As has been said, we know where to place each character: we judiciously praise or blame, perhaps like or dislike; but we do not passionately take sides and love or hate. Of course, the attitude we take is the correct one from Massinger's point of view, for he is aiming more to make clear to us the problems of the play than to make us take an attitude toward the characters as such. We are rather to take our attitude toward them because of that for which they stand.

This moral purpose which lies behind all his more serious plays and is not absent from his lightest, accounts for much in Massinger. It is in scenes where some moral or ethical principle is involved that he does his most realistic work and impresses one most with his earnestness, for he is there speaking his own deep convictions through the mouthpiece of his character. He is not the impersonal portrayer of characters, he takes sides very definitely in his work. Thus it is that Camiola of *The Maid of Honor* is so well and sympathetically treated. She was morally right and was making what Massinger considered a great choice. Therefore, for her he has no blame. He could for the time being become that character and describe it from the inside. It is only with such characters, and in such situations that he is ever able to do this. Still one must not get the impression that the work is clumsily done. He has observed for himself and has observed the observation of others; that is, there was a body of dramatic literature behind him and certain types had become fairly well established. These he, like other playwrights, took over and used. Thus, in characterisation also Massinger is the clever, serious workman, not the poetic genius.

THE CONSCIOUS STYLIST

Massinger's style, too, reveals careful effort. It is smooth and well polished except in a few places where he has intentionally made the speech and verse rough and irregular in an attempt to show emotion. Therefore, a rough line calls for atten-

tion at once. His style has a steady, slow, long, oratorical sweep about it that is peculiarly his own. Various factors contribute to the making of this style. The earlier blank verse of Elizabethan times was marked by regularity as to number of feet, syllables, and accents and each line was taken as a unit, that is, was end stopped. *Gorboduc* was sufficiently regular in these respects to win even Pope's praise. In an effort towards greater freedom, there had been progressive change in two main directions. First, monotonous regularity of the line was broken up by the added syllable of the double or feminine ending. Second, the line ceased to be the iron-clad unit and we find run-on lines. Some writers followed one direction, others the other. Beaumont,³⁶ with his smooth flowing style, needing the larger unit, chose the way of the run-on line. He has a comparatively high percentage of these (20 to 30%) and a low percentage of double endings (10 to 20%). Fletcher, with his swift, clear-cut, conversational style, needed the smaller unit. Therefore, we find comparatively few run-on lines (10% or under) in Fletcher. On the other hand, we find a very high percentage (60% or over) of double, not infrequently triple, endings. But Fletcher was not content even with this and we find also a large number of trisyllabic feet, contractions, and slurrings within the line itself.

Massinger worked about equally along both these lines. His percentage of run-on lines (about 32 to 52% in his uncollaborated plays) is large. Thus he is composing by large units, by verse periods in fact. This leads to his fitting in parenthetical and explanatory sections from time to time. But even in his longest and at first sight seemingly most hopelessly involved sentences, there is a smooth regularity of flow and oratorical completeness. To attempt to break these up into short sections in reading is to spoil Massinger. He also uses a large percentage of double endings (40 to 50% in his uncollaborated plays). This avoids the monotony of the perfectly regular verse, for though Massinger is eminently dignified, almost pompous at times if you will, he is not often stiff. Then, too, Massinger secures a heavy enjambement by frequent light endings (2.05 to 5.80% in his uncollaborated plays) and by occasional weak endings (as much as

³⁶ These are Boyle's figures, given in *New Shakespeare Society Transactions*, 1886.

3.05% in one case, though a somewhat variable quantity). Both the double and the light and weak endings tend toward an easier, a more prose-like style. He does not use slurrings and contractions to any considerable extent. On the contrary, he has a tendency as might be expected of his dignified style, to give each syllable full value, especially with words ending in "ion". For instance, in *The Duke of Milan* we find pas-si-ons, III, 3, 112; af-fec-ti-on, 131; mo-ti-on, 136. The peculiarity with Massinger's dissolution is that it occurs frequently within the line, not merely at the end. As a result of these characteristics, Massinger gets a style that is more involved, more stately, more formal than Beaumont's; one that is less loose, less conversational than Fletcher's, an oratorical style in fact. It is in part for this reason that Massinger makes his best impression in dignified scenes, such as trial scenes, where a question is to be argued, or where his hero or heroine makes a high appeal on moral or ethical grounds. Perhaps it is to some extent due to this style that we feel his characters are rather far-away in ordinary conversation, as if they were speaking a part.

It is worthy of notice that in his versification, Massinger has caught two of the most characteristic tricks of Fletcher versification. One⁸⁷ of these is the repetition of an idea or the addition of some qualifying phrase as if in after thought. Massinger repeats in much the same way but his repetition is almost purely for emphasis and is likely to be a word for word repetition, while Fletcher only repeats much the same idea as if he were playing with it, ringing the changes on it. The following examples illustrate this difference.

"And a woman,
A woman beat 'em, Nennius; a weak woman,
A woman, beat these Romans!"

Bonduca, I, 1 (47a).

⁸⁷ Repetition for emphasis is frequent in this play.

Cf. I, 3, 70; I, 3, 74-5; I, 3, 313; II, 1, 20-1; II, 1, 115; II, 1, 156-7; II, 1, 188; II, 1, 275-6; II, 1, 282; II, 1, 284-5; II, 1, 298-9; II, 1, 383; II, 1, 387; II, 1, 388-9; II, 1, 402-3; III, 1, 262; III, 1, 265-6; III, 2, 76-7; III, 2, 97; III, 2, 119; III, 3, 16; IV, 2, 36; V, 1, 67-8; V, 2, 222-3; V, 2, 248.

Closely akin to this is the addition of a further qualification connected by "and." Cf. II, 1, 154-5; IV, 3, 278-9; V, 1, 102-3; V, 1, 157-8.

"And, by mine honour, much drink, valiant drink:
Never tell me, thou shalt have drink. I see,
Like a true friend, into thy wants; 'tis drink."

Bonduca, I, 1(49a).

"You are in love, I know it;
You are an ass, and all the camp shall know it;
A peevish idle boy, your dame shall know it;
A wronger of my care, yourself shall know it."

Bonduca, I, 1(49b).

"For 'tis a deed of Night, of Night Francisco."

Duke of Milan, I, 3, 313.

"I defie thee,
Thee, and thy pardons, proud one."

II, 1, 156-7.

"Learne Women, learne to trust in one another;
There is no faith in Man: Sforza is false,
False to Marcelia."

II, 1, 387-9.

Much the same distinction holds true of their added phrases, Massinger adds for emphasis, Fletcher as an afterthought. The second of these tricks is the ending a line with an extra monosyllable, most characteristic when it is heavy, as "too". Massinger does this rather frequently, as may be seen by the examples quoted under the footnote.⁸⁸

⁸⁸ I, 1, 52; I, 3, 183; II, 1, 90; III, 1, 55; IV, 1, 21; IV, 3, 49; V, 2, 65; V, 2, 148; V, 2, 188; V, 2, 195.

He used "so" in the same way. Cf. I, 3, 215; I, 3, 230; I, 3, 270; I, 3, 346; II, 1, 12; II, 1, 344; III, 1, 74; IV, 1, 11.

"then" is used in the same way—I, 3, 308; III, 2, 54; IV, 2, 63; IV, 3, 182; IV, 3, 281.

"to"—II, 1, 339.

"now"—III, 2, 64; IV, 3, 286.

"there"—III, 1, 42; V, 1, 161.

"out"—II, 1, 175.

"at"—II, 1, 338.

"no"—III, 2, 5.

"off"—IV, 3, 124.

"this"—II, 1, 257.

"part"—III, 1, 10.

"thus"—III, 3, 22.

"done"—IV, 3, 273.

Therefore, while these characteristics are valuable for separating Fletcher's work from Beaumont's, they need to be used with caution, when it is a question of Fletcher or Massinger. Mr. Bullen's statement⁸⁹ that the ending of a line with an emphatic extra monosyllable is a "practice in which he (Fletcher) stands alone" is incorrect. Mr. Boyle made the same supposition in his treatment of *A New Way to Pay Old Debts*. Here, too, it seems that Massinger has been the apt pupil of Fletcher. *The Duke of Milan* is an excellent specimen of Massinger's style. There are several opportunities for speech making well used, the best of which is perhaps Sforza's really noble speech before the Emperor. If Massinger is read in the full, deep, dignified, controlled style of the orator, each part falls into its place and the period is natural; if not he is a "howling wilderness" of dependent clauses and parenthetical statement. It is this larger element that Swinburne missed in his brilliant little imitation of Massinger contained in his article upon him. The phrases are there, the idea is there, the seeming loose elements of the sentence are there; but they are not bound together in the oratorical period that is characteristic of Massinger. The speeches just mentioned are splendid illustrations of this style at its best, since, from the nature of his style, it is in trial scenes or scenes requiring set speeches, such as the above, that Massinger makes his best impression.

Naturally, such a style as we have described does not lend itself to the give and take conversation of comedy as readily as Fletcher's. It does not fit the jesting of a clown or the supposedly simple nothings of a lover. Consequently we need not expect the bright sparkling comedy of wit and words, so frequent in Shakespeare. Neither has Massinger the droll sense of humor characteristic of Beaumont. As a result, his comic scenes are not especially successful. In *The Duke of Milan* the opening speeches of the gentlemen, who are supposedly at least the proverbial three sheets in the wind, are good examples of his comic element. In spite of their infirmities, they keep their dignified oratorical tone. One can hardly help comparing them in this respect with the drunkards in *The Coxcomb* (I, 5, 6), or those in *The Tempest*, whom I have a sneaking suspicion Massinger

⁸⁹ D. N. B., XIX, 305b.

thought he was imitating, as he more obviously attempted to do in *The Bashful Lover*, III, 1.

Probably another element of his nature is here involved. The lighter comic material of the time was rather broad, to say the least. Massinger, the professional playwright, must have comedy and consequently must use the accepted material; but there is something of elephantine floundering about his use of it. Fletcher, with his rapidity of style and lightness of touch, is eminently fitted for this work, really takes some enjoyment in it and succeeds in making it go. Whatever attitude we may take toward the moral side of it, we must admit the humor. But Massinger evidently has no especial joy in the necessary duty, and the result is far from pleasing. I do not recall a single comic scene of this type that is altogether satisfactory. The one that at first sight comes nearest being satisfactory is the opening scene in *The Renegado* with the clerk crying his wares. Yet here (as throughout the play) the comedy lies more in the "humor" of the clerk. This limitation of Massinger seems to have been realized at the time, as he almost never deals with the comic element in the collaborated plays.

Indeed, in comedy Massinger succeeded best in the "humor" type. Sylli, probably his most successful comic character of the lighter type, is distinctly a "humor" character, even to his name. The whole play of the *New Way to Pay Old Debts* is distinctly of the "humor" type and Sir Giles Overreach is distinctly a humor character as is Greedy, both being placarded with their names. In fact, this, I think, accounts for Massinger's great success with the *New Way*. It is rather serious comedy, if we can accept it as comedy at all, and only avoids tragedy by a perilous device. In view of the *New Way to Pay Old Debts*, I feel that it is rather unfortunate that Massinger was not more under the influence of Jonson and less under that of Fletcher, that he did not follow Jonson in the "humor" comedy rather than Fletcher in the line of Tragicomedy, for to me it seems that Fletcher has been the shaping influence here. Massinger collaborated with him for years and succeeded to his position. He seems to have tried to keep up the popular tradition, the "brand." It may be noted that the *New Way* was not for the King's Men but for the Queen's. Besides, as the literary workman, he would

naturally keep his eye on the trade and this was the day of the tragicomedy, the tragedy of blood had had its day and had been superseded. The "humor" comedy was especially fitted for him because the lighter witty touches are not needed and his habit of directness, following one line, is especially fitted for this type, the strong feature of which is the emphasizing one element in a character so as to make it a guiding principle. For its purpose, too, of holding certain traits up for reprobation it would have suited Massinger well.

Massinger succeeds best, then, both in Tragedy and Comedy where a certain element of dignity and directness is required.

MASSINGER'S HABIT OF REPETITION

Massinger has one characteristic, however, extending through construction, characterisation and style which calls for separate attention, that is the trick of repetition. Now, naturally most writers have a tendency to repeat. Fletcher does so often, especially in construction and characterisation; but Massinger repeats more often and more exactly, even in sentiments, phrasing, and words. The taking to task of Sforza by Stephano is paralleled in situation and sentiment in *The Picture* 1, 2, where Eubulus takes the king to task for his too great worship of his wife. In fact, as Gifford points out, in his note at the end of *The Duke of Milan* (see last note), there is an interesting parallel between the two plays as a whole.

This bent of repetition is especially shown in Massinger's tendency to use certain phrases and expressions which have almost the appearance of formulæ to be used on certain fixed occasions. For instance, see the village nurse comparison of *Duke of Milan*, IV, 3, 234-5; *Renegado*, I, 1 (134b); *New Way*, V, 1 (420b). In each case, the indecision and mere talk of a character is compared in very similar terms with the action of a village nurse and contrasted with the action the character should take. Thus the situation, idea, and expression is very similar in all the cases. These formulæ tend to go in cycles as one would naturally expect. The example I have quoted covers possibly five years. So true is this that, if one could get a thorough list of parallels, it would afford a rather strong indication of the

position of a play in the series. In proving a disputed play, this matter of parallels is perhaps the strongest piece of evidence. Parallels, together with the metrical tests, enable one to say with a great degree of certainty in what plays Massinger certainly wrote, provided he wrote the section entire and it has not been tampered with. All of these characteristics reveal Massinger as the skillful playwright.

FINAL ESTIMATE OF *The Duke of Milan*

The result of all these qualities in *The Duke of Milan* is a carefully plotted play whose faults lie fundamentally in the judgment and taste of the author, not in carelessness. It has two points where this judgment and taste were noticeably bad, the ladies' quarrel of the second act and the disconnectedness of the fifth act. It may be said in Massinger's favor that he learned better how to present a quarrel between ladies so that in the clashes in *The Emperor of the East*, especially in those between Pulcheria and Eudocia, we do not find such low, undignified, treatment.

The fault of the fifth act is a graver charge and, while it is to be explained, is not to be excused. The act stands by itself as a unit, and, as I have already said, might almost be considered as a sequel to the first part. The climax of the play is reached at the end of the fourth act and matters should be brought to a conclusion at once if the emotional tone is to be held. But Massinger deliberately lets the attention drop and goes into a rather long preparation for another element in the story. But not only is there a break in emotional continuity, there is also a shift in our attitude toward the characters of Francisco and Sforza. New elements are brought to our attention in the characters of both, which call for a readjustment of attitude toward them. As I have shown, Massinger intended to warn us; but his sign posts were not striking enough. The effect is still further to intensify the break. Massinger may have felt this and have tried to offset it by an unusually striking last scene. But in his strikingness he has become merely theatrical and in his height bombastic. It is a far cry from a Sforza to an Othello. Yet we must remember that here, too, he did but use the general accompaniment of such

scenes in his time, lurid descriptions and bombastic expressions. As compared with the poison scene in the *Wife for a Month*, IV, 4, this seems rather mild. Still the fifth act must be considered a serious blemish upon the play.

Massinger, then, is characterised throughout by careful, serious workmanship, and it is by this means that he attains his ends rather than by inspired insight into character or the unforgettable word and phrase. The impulse to write seems to come from without, from the force of circumstances rather than from within; his is not the feeling that he needs must write and in that lies all pleasure.

MASSINGER'S CONCEPTION OF TRAGEDY

What, then, was Massinger's idea of tragedy? As we will have seen from the preceding discussions, it was not the Shakespearian idea, which is grounded in character. We have no study of the small defect appearing, and relentlessly and inevitably growing to its full tragic conclusion, carrying before it both good and bad. We find no Hamlet, Lear, Macbeth, Othello. Nor is it the tragedy of Beaumont, who follows at a distance in the same school with his *Evadne*. It is rather the tragedy of Fletcher, with much the same ideal that is shown in *Valentinian* or *Bonduca*. This idea is to present a tragic story, laying emphasis upon the outward horror-giving manifestations rather than upon the inner struggle. Such a tragedy, therefore, presents an ordered sequence of striking situations which will get directly across to the eye and emotions, it presents not the depth but the tumult of the soul. To make this appeal stronger, the merely physical side is dwelt upon. *Bonduca* and her daughters meeting death, *Theocrina* thrust forth in *The Unnatural Combat* with the final sweep of ghosts, dead-doing thunder and lightning and horrors generally are good examples. As Mr. Cunliffe says,⁴⁰ "this emphasis upon the outward horrors and the steadfastness with which the characters meet death are traits of the Senecan school as well as the bombastic language in which these are likely to be expressed." Striking, theatrically effective if you will; but not the best and deepest tragedy. Yet the dignified Massinger

⁴⁰ Influence of Seneca on Elizabethan Tragedy.

never goes quite to such extremes as does Fletcher and he is consequently more convincing. In individual scene, Massinger does not rise so high as Fletcher, but the reverse is true when we consider plays as a whole and in this difference lies Massinger's advantage over Fletcher as a tragic dramatist. Massinger, with his careful, definite plan, gets his effect by a constantly and steadily increasing interest, holds the attention till the action as a whole is before us. His work is a unit, a whole. Fletcher has very striking individual scenes, but he has not this power of cumulative tragic suspense. His work is, therefore, likely to be uneven in quality and to sacrifice everything to a strong, theatrically effective scene. In fact, the two writers were rather the complements each of the other. The power of Fletcher in poetic expression and striking situation joined with Massinger's superior craftsmanship would have produced a tragedy which would have been on the side of mere action and theatrical effectiveness, what Shakespeare's tragedies are on the side of character.

MASSINGER'S RANK

Our final estimate of Massinger will to a great degree be determined according as we insist on the importance of the careful working out of the mechanics of the play, the playwright side, or whether we take the more romantic attitude and insist upon the tone, the characterisation, the poetry of the play. It is, therefore, not surprising that the German theses rank Massinger highly, many placing him next Shakespeare himself.

In accord with this, too, is Professor Brander Matthews⁴¹ feeling: "A dramatic poet he is beyond question, but he is far greater as dramatist than he is as poet. His inferiority to Marlowe, for example, as a poet is as obvious as his superiority over Marlowe as a playwright. His merit is in the structure and conduct of each of his plays as a whole; and this is not detachable and portable like the unforgettable phrases of Marlowe. There is an even eloquence in Massinger's writing, but scarcely a single sentence wherein he has packed 'infinite riches in a little room.' As Mr. Symons says, it is not hard to find in plenty lines that are

⁴¹ C. M. Gayley, *Representative English Comedies*, Introduction to a *New Way to Pay Old Debts*.

easy, flowing, vigorous, persuasive, 'but nowhere a line in which colour and music make a magical delight of golden concords.' . . .

"It is only when he is considered as a playwright, pure and simple, that Massinger shows to best advantage and that he takes rank over his contemporary rivals. As a playwright, pure and simple, Massinger demands a place immediately after Shakespeare, and it is upon Shakespeare that he has plainly enough modelled himself." This quotation well sums up and shows the attitude, the reaction, of the two types of thought to Massinger. According as you value more, dramatic technique, or dramatic poetry and characterisation so will you value Massinger. In the first, his rank must be high, in the second, it is lower.

EDITOR'S NOTES ON TEXT

This is a critical edition with apparatus. Its aim is to present the text, as nearly as possible, as Massinger wished it printed. Therefore, all accepted emendations have been inserted into the text of the first quarto with brackets, and in most cases a note has been made giving the reason for the change. Abbreviated stage directions have been completed in brackets and a few have been inserted where they might be of advantage to the reader. In such cases, I have usually followed Gifford. In a few cases, stage directions have been returned to their proper places from the positions in which they were put because of lack of space in the first quarto. All such changes from the first quarto are given in the notes. The play has been lined, which necessitated re-arrangement of lines in a few cases. In such cases, the original arrangement is given in a note. The very few simple misprints of letters are noted. All variations in wording up to and including Gifford's second edition have been noted at the bottom of the page, also all important changes in punctuation. The reading of the first quarto appears first at the left of the page, then the reading of any of the later editions which disagree, the editions being arranged in chronological order. I have used Gifford's second edition for reference, mentioning the first only when it varies. G₁ and N taken together will give the difference of Gifford's second edition from his first.

Q_1 = first quarto, 1623.

Q_2 = second quarto, 1638.

C = Coxeter's edition, 1759.

M = Mason's edition, 1779.

N = Massinger's MS. note in a quarto of 1623. See
Introduction.

G_1 = Gifford's first edition, 1805.

G = Gifford's second edition, 1813.

THE DUKE
OF
MILLAINE.

A TRAGÆDIE.

As it hath beene often acted by his Maiesties
seruants, at the blacke Friers.

Written by PHILIP MASSINGER Gent.



LONDON

Printed by *B. A.* for *Edward Blackmore*, and are
to be sold at his shop at the great South
doore of Pauls. 1623.

[Vpon This Worke Of His Beloued Friend
The Avthor.

I Am snap't already, and may goe my way;
The Poet Critick's c[om]e; I heare him say,
This Towne's mistooke, the Author's Worke's a Play.
He could not misse it; he will strait appeare
At such a baite; 'twas laid on purpose there
To take the vermine, and I haue him here.
Sirra, you wilbe nibling; a small bitt
(A fillable), when yo' are i' the hungry fitt
Will serue to stay the stomache of your witt.
Foole: Knaue; what's worse ?for worse cannot depraue thee.
And were the diuell now instantly to haue thee,
Thou canst not instance such a worke to saue thee,
'Mongst all the ballets which thou dost compose,
And what thou stil'ft thy Poems, ill as those,
And, void of rime and reason, thy worse Prose.
Yet like a rude Iack-fause in Poesie,
With thoughts vnblest and hand vnmannerly,
Rauishing branches from Apollo's tree:
Thou mak'ft a garland (for thy touch vnfit)
And boldly deck'ft thy pig-brain'd sponce with it,
As if it were the Supreme Head of wit.
The blameles Muses blush, who not allow
That reuerend Order to each vulgar brow;
Whose sinfull touch prophanes the holy Bough.
Hence (shallow Prophet) and admire the straine
Of thine owne Pen, or thy poore Copesmat's veine:
This Piece too curious is for thy coarse braine,
Here witt (more fortunat) is ioyn'd with Art,
And that most sacred Frenzie beares a part,
Infus'd by Nature in the Poet's heart.
Here may the Puny-wits themselues direct;
Here may the Wi[is]est find what to affect;
And Kings may learne their proper Dialect.
Oh then, deare friend: thy Pen thy Name shall spread,
And shalt thou write, while thou shall not be read,
Thy Muse must labour, when thy Hand is dead. W. B.]

"come", the original has "cane" which the second quarto emends as given. Hazlitt retains "cane".

"Wisest", the original has "Wilest" which the second quarto emends as given. Hazlitt emends "Vilest".

TO THE RIGHT
 HONOURABLE AND MUCH
 ESTEEMED FOR HER HIGH
 BIRTH, BUT MORE ADMI-

red for her vertue, the Lady KATHERINE STANHOPE, wife to
 PHILIP LORD STANHOP,
 Baron of Shelford.

5



ADAM: *If I were not most assured that workes of this nature, hath found both patronage, and protection, amongst the greatest Princeesses of Italie, and are at this day cherished by persons most eminent in our kingdome, I should not presume to offer this my*

10

weake, and imperfect labours, at the altar of your fauour, let the example of others more knowing, and more experienced in this kind (if my boldnesse offend) pleade my pardon, and the rather since there is no other meanes left mee (my misfortunes hauing cast me on this course, to publish to the world, if it hold the least good opinion of mee) that I am euer your Ladyships creature vouchsafe therefore with the neuer fayling clemency of Your Noble disposition, not to contemne the tender of his duty, who while hee is, will euer bee.

15

20

An humble seruant to your
 Ladyship, and yours.
 PHILIP M[A]SS[I]NGER.

25

10 hath] Q, C M G, have.
 12 Princesses] Q, C M, Princes.
 14 this] Q, C M G, these.
 17 kind] G, kindness.
 26 Messenger] Q, C M N G, Massinger.

THE NAMES OF THE ACTORS.

Ludouico Sforza. *a supposed Duke of Millaine.*
 Signior Francisco. *his especiall fauorite.*
 Tiberio. }
 Stephano. } *two Lords of his Counsell.*
 Pescara, *a Marqueffe, and friend to Sforza.*
 Graccho. *a creature of Mariana sifter to Sforza.*
 [Iouio }
 [Giouanni } *courtiers.*]
 Charles *the Emperour.*
 Hernando }
 Medina } *Captaines to the Emperour.*
 [Alphonso] }
 Marcellia. *the Dutches wife to Sforza.*
 Ifabella. *mother to Sforza.*
 Mariana. *wife to Francisco, and sifter to Sforza.*
 Eugenia. *sifter to Francisco.*
 2. Posts.
 A Beadle.
 Waiters.
 Mutes.
 [Three Gentlemen.]
 [Fiddlers.]
 [Two Doctors.]
 [A Gentlewoman.]

The bracketed names are Gifford's except as noted below.

Iouio] Julio, G.

Alphonso] inserted C M G.

2 Posts] Two couriers, G.

A Beadle] An Officer, G.

Waiters. Mutes] Guards, Servants, Attendants, G.

THE DVKE OF
MILLAINE.

Act[us] Prim[i] Scae[na] Pri[ma].

Graccho, Iouio, Giouanni, with Flagons.

Gra. Take euery man his flagon : giue the oath
To al you meet : I am this day, the state drunkard ;
(I am fure against my will) And if you finde
A man at ten, that's fober, hee's a Traitor,
And in my name arrest him.

Io. Very good Sir :
But fay hee be a Sexton?

5

Gra. If the bells,
Ring out of tune, as if the ftreet were burning,
And he cry 'tis rare Muficke : bid him sleepe,
'Tis a figne he has tooke his liquour ; And if you meet
An officer preaching of fobriety,
Vnleffe he read it in *Geneua* print,
Lay him by the heeles.

10

Io. But thinke you tis a fault
To be found fober?

Gra. It is Capitall Treafon,
Or if you Mittigate it, Let fuch pay
Fortie Crownes to the poore ; But giue a pention
To all the magiftrates, you find finging catches,
Or their Wiues dauncing ; For the Courtier[']s reeling,
And the *Duke* himfelfe, (I dare not fay diftemperd,
But kind, and in his tottering chaire caroufing)
They doe the countrie feruice. If you meet,
One that eates bread, a child of Ignorance,
And bred vp in the darkeneffe of no drinking
[Against his will you may initiate him]

15

20

B

I, 1, Stage direction, Iouio] G, Julio, wherever it occurs in scene.

I, 1, 9 tooke] G, ta'en.

I, 1, 23. See Introduction, Early Editions, note 1.

- In the true posture, though he die in the taking
 His drench, it skilles not: What's a priuate man 25
 For the publike honour? we haue nought else to thinke on.
 And fo deere friends, copartners in my trauailes
 Drinke hard; and let the health run through the City,
 Vntill it reele againe: and with me crie:
 Long liue the *Dutches*. *Enter Tiberio Stephano.*
- Io.* Heere are two Lords; what thinke you? 30
 Shall we giue the oath to them?
Gra. Fie, no: I know them,
 You neede not fweare'em; your *Lord*, by his pattent
 Stands bound to take his roufe. Long liue the *Dutches*.
Exit Gra[ccho] Io[uiio and Giouanni.]
- Step.* The caufe of this. but yesterday the court,
 Wore the sad liuerie of distrust, and feare; 35
 No smile, not in a buffon to bee seene,
 Or common iester; The great *Duke* himselfe,
 Had sorrow in his face: which waited on
 By his mother, sifter, and his fairest *Dutches*,
 Disperfd a filent mourning through all *Millaine*: 40
 As if some great blow had been giuen the State,
 Or were at least expected.
- Tib.* *Stephano,*
 I know, as you are noble, you are honest,
 And capable of secrets, of more weight,
 Then now I shall deliuer. If that *Sforza*, 45
 The present *Duke*, (though his whole life hath beene,
 But one continued pilgrimage, through dangers,
 Affrights, and horrors: which, his Fortune, guided
 By his strong Iudgement, still hath ouercome) 50
 Appeares now shaken, it deserues no wonder.
 All that his youth hath laboured for: the haruest
 Sown by his industry, readie to be reap'd, to,
 Being now at the stake; And all his hopes confirmd,
 Or lost for euer.
- Step.* I know no such hazard:
 [His guards are strong, and sure, his coffers full] 55
- I, 1, 33/34 Exit] C M G, Exeunt.
 I, 1, 38 which waited] Q₂ C M G, which, waited.
 I, 1, 53 at the stake] C M G, at stake.
 I, 1, 55. See Introduction, Early Editions, note 1.

The people well affected ; And so wifely
 His proud care hath wrought : that though warre rages
 In moſt parts of our weſterne world, there is
 No enimie neere vs.

Tib. Dangers that we fee
 To threaten ruine, are with eaſe preuented : 60
 But thoſe ſtrike deadly, that come vnexpected ;
 The lightning is farre off : yet ſoone as ſeene,
 We may behold the terrible effects,
 That it produceth. But Ile helpe your knowledge,
 And make his cauſe of feare familiar to you. 65
 The warre ſo long continued betweene
 The Emperour *Charles*, and *Francis* the French King
 Haue interreſt'd in eithers cauſe, the moſt
 Of the *Italian Princes*: Among which *Sforza*,
 As one of greateſt power, was fought by both, 70
 But with affurance hauing one his friend,
 The other liu'd his enimie.

Step. Tis true,
 And 'twas a doubtfull choice.

Tib. But hee, well knowing,
 And ha[t]ing too, (it ſeemes) the *Spaniſh* pride,
 Lent his aſſiſtance to the King of *France*: 75
 Which hath ſo farre incen'd the *Emperor*,
 That all his hopes, and honours are embark'd,
 With his great Patrons Fortune.

Step. Which ſtands faire,
 For ought I yet can heare.

Tib. But ſhould it change,
 The *Duke's* vndon. They haue drawne to the field 80
 Two royall armies, full of fierie youth,
 Of equall ſpirit to dare, and power to doe :
 So neere entrench'd, that 'tis beyond all hope,
 Of humane counsell, they can er'e be feuerd,
 Vntill it be determin'd by the ſword, 85
 Who hath the better cauſe. For the ſucceſſe,

B₂

I, 1, 66 warre] M G, wars.

I, 1, 68 interreſt'd] G, interreſſ'd. See note.

I, 1, 74 having] M G, hating.

Concludes the victor innocent, and the vanquish'd
 Most miserably guilty. How vncertaine,
 The Fortune of the warre is, children know ;
 And, it being in suspence, on whose faire Tent, 90
 Win'gd victory wil make her glorious stand ;
 You cannot blame the *Duke*, though he appeare,
 Perplex'd, and troubled.

Step. But why then,
 In such a time when euery knee should bend,
 For the succeffe, and safetie of his person, 95
 Are these lowd triumphs? In my weake opinion,
 They are vnseasonable.

Tib. I iudge so too ;
 But onely in the cause to be excus'd.
 It is the *Dutcheffe* Birth-day : once a yeere
 Solemniz'd, with all pompe, and ceremony : 100
 In which, the *Duke* is not his owne, but hers :
 Nay, euery day indeed, he is her creature,
 For neuer man so doted ; But to tell
 The tenth part of his fondnesse, to a stranger,
 Would argue me of fiction.

Step. She's indeed, 105
 A Lady of most exquisite forme.

Tib. She knowes it,
 And how to prize it.

Step. I ne're heard her tainted,
 In any point of honour.

Tib. On my life,
 Shee's constant to his bed, and well deserues
 His largest Favours. But when beauty is 110
 Stampt on great women, great in birth, and fortune,
 And blowne by flatterers greater then it is,
 'Tis seldome vnaccompanied with pride ;
 Nor is shee, that-way free. Prefuming on
 The *Dukes* affection, and her owne Defert, 115
 Shee beares her selfe with such a Maiestie,

Looking with fcorne on all, as things beneath her :
 That *Sforzas* mother, (that would loofe no part
 Of what, was once her owne) : Nor his faire Sifter,
 (A Lady too_[,] acquainted with her worth[]) 120
 Will brooke it well ; And howfoer'e, their hate,
 Is fmother'd for a time, Tis more then feard,
 It will at length breake out.

Step. Hee, in whofe power 'tis,
 Turne all to the beft.

Tib. Come, let vs to the Court,
 We there fhall fee, all brauery, and coft, 125
 That art can boaft of.

Step. Ile beare you company. *Exeunt.*

[Actus Primi, Scaena Secunda.]

Enter Francisco, Ifabella, Mariana[.]

Ma. I will not goe, I fcorne to be a fpot
 In her proud traine.

Ifa. Shall I, that am his mother,
 Be fo indulgent, as to waite on her,
 That owes me duty ?

Fra. Tis done to the *Duke*,
 And not to her. And my fweet wife remember, 5
 And Madam, if you please_[,] receiue my councill,
 As *Sforza* is your fonne, you may command him,
 And as a fifter you may challenge from him,
 A brothers loue, and Fauour : But this graunted_[,]
 Confider hee's the *Prince*, and you, his Subiects, 10
 And not to question, or contend with her,
 Whom hee is pleafd to honour ; Priuate men
 Preferre their wiues : and fhall hee being a *Prince*,
 And bleft with one that is the *Paradice*
 Of fwetneffe, and of beauty, to whofe charge, 15
 The ftocke of womens goodneffe is giuen vp,
 Not vfe her, like her felfe ?

Ifa. You are euer forward,
 To fing her praifses_[,]

Ma. Others are as faire,

B,

I, 1, 120 too acquainted] C M, too, acquainted.

I, 2, 6 please receiue] Q₂ C M G, please, receive.

I, 2, 18 praises] Q₂ "praises."

I am fure as noble.

Fra. I detract from none,
 In giuing her, what^l's due. Were she deform^l'd, 20
 Yet being the *Dutches*, I stand bound to ferue her,
 But as she is, to admire her. Neuer wife,
 Met with a purer heate her husbands feruer ;
 A happie paire, one in the other blest :
 She confident in her selfe, hee's wholly hers, 25
 And cannot seeke for change : and he secure
 That tis not in the power of man to tempt her.
 And therefore, to contest with her that is
 The stronger, and the better part of him,
 Is more then folly ; You know him of a nature, 30
 Not to be play'd with : and should you forget
 To obey him as your *Prince*, hee'le not remember,
 The dutie that he owes you.

Ifa. Tis but trueth :
 Come cleere our browes, and let vs to the banquet,
 But not to ferue his Idoll.

Ma. I shall doe, 35
 What may become the fister of a Prince,
 But will not ftoope, beneath it.

Fra. Yet be wife,
 Sore not too high to fall, but ftoope to rise. *Exeunt.*

[Actus Primi, Scaena Tertia.]

Enter three Gentlemen setting forth a banquet.

1. *Ge.* Quicke, quicke for loues sake, let the court put on
 Her choicest outfide : Coft, and brauerie
 Be onely thought of.

2. *Gent.* All that may be had
 To please the eye, the eare, taste, touch, or smell,
 Are carefully provided.

3. *Gen.* Ther's a Masque, 5
 Haue you heard what's the inuention ?

1. *Gent.* No matter,
 It is intended for the *Dutches* honour.
 And if it giue her glorious attributes,

I, 2, 19 sure as noble] C G, sure, as noble.

I, 3, 7 intended] Q, indeed.

As the most faire, most vertuous, and the best,
'Twill please the *Duke*. They come.

3. *Gent*[.]

All is in order.

'10

*Enter Tiberio, Stephano, Francisco, Sforza, Marcellia,
Ifabella, Mariana, attendants*

Sfo. You are the Mistris of the feast, sit heere ;

O my foules comfort : And when *Sforza* bowes
Thus low to doe you honour, let none thinke
The meanest seruice they can pay my loue,

15

But as a faire addition to those tytles,
They stand possesse of. Let me glory in
My happinesse, and mightie Kings looke pale
With enuie, while I triumph in mine owne.

O mother looke on her, sifter admire her :
And since this present age yeelds not a woman
Worthy to be her second, borrow of

20

Times past : and let imagination helpe
Of those canoniz'd Ladies *Sparta* boasts of,
And, in her greatnesse, *Rome* was proud to owe
To fashion [one] : yet still you must confesse,
The *Phoenix* of perfection ner'e was seene,
But in my faire *Marcellia*.

25

Fra. She's indeede

The wonder of all times.

Tib.

Your excellence,

(Though I confesse you giue her but her owne)
Enforces her modestie to the defence
Of a sweet blush.

30

Sfo. It neede not my *Marcellia* ;

When most I ftriue to praise thee, I appeare
A poore detracter : For thou art indeed
So absolute in bodie, and in minde,
That, but to speake the least part to the height,
Would aske an Angels tongue : and yet then end
In filent admiration !

35

Ifab. You still court her,

I, 3, 25 fashion : and] N G, fashion one : yet.

I, 3, 30 Enforces] G, Forces. See note.

I, 3, 32 most I] Q₂, I most.

I, 3, 34 absolute] Q₂, C M, perfect both.

As if she were a Miftris, not your wife.

Sfo. A Miftris mother? she is more to me,
 And euery day, deserues more to be fu'de too. 40
 Such as are cloyd with those they haue embrac'd,
 May thinke their wooing done: No night to mee,
 But is a brydall one, where *Himen* lights
 His torches fresh, and new: And those delights,
 Which are not to be cloth'd in ayrie founds, 45
 Inioyd, beget desires, as full of heat,
 And Iouiall feruor, as when first I tasted
 Her virgin fruit; Bleft night, and be it numbred
 Amongst those happy ones, in which a blessing
 Was by the full consent of all the Starrs, 50
 Confer'd vpon mankind.

Marc. My worthiest Lord,
 The onely obiect I behold with pleasure:
 My pride, my glory, in a word my all;
 Beare witnesse *Heauen*, that I esteeme my selfe
 In nothing worthy of the meanest praise, 55
 You can bestow, vnlesse it be in this,
 That in my heart I loue, and honor you.
 And but that it would smell of arrogance,
 To speake my strong desire, and zeale to serue you:
 I then could say, these eyes yet neuer saw
 The rising Sun, but that my vowes, and prayers, 60
 Were sent to Heauen, for the prosperitie
 And safety of my Lord; Nor haue I euer
 Had other studie, but how to appeare
 Worthy your fauour: and that my embraces, 65
 Might yeeld a fruitfull Haruest of content,
 For all your noble trauaile, in the purchase,
 Of her, that's still your seruant; By these lips,
 (Which pardon mee, that I presume to kisse)

Sfo. O sweare, for euer sweare.

Marce. I ne're will seeke 70
 Delight, but in your pleasure: and desire,

I, 3, 70 O sweare] Q₂ C M, O sweet.

When you are [fated] with all Earthly glories,
And age, and honours make you fit for Heauen,
That one Graue may receiue vs.

Sf. 'Tis belieu'r,
Belieu'd, my bleft One.

Mari. How she winds her felfe
Into his Soule! 75

Sf. Sit all: Let others feed
On thofe groffe Cates, while *Sforza* banquetts with
Immortall Viands, tane in at his Eyes.
I could liue euer thus. Command the Eunuch
To fing the Dittie that I laft compos'd, 80
In prayfe of my *Marcellia*. [*Ent(er) Pof(t)*] From whence?

Post. From *Pauie*, my dread Lord.

Sf. Speake, is all loft?

Pof(t). The Letter will informe you.

Fran. How his Hand flakes,
As he receiues it?

Mari. This is fome allay
To his hot paffion.

Sf. Though it bring death, ile read it. 85

May it please your Excellence to vnderftand, that the ve-
rie houre I wrot this, I heard a bold defiance deliuered by a
Herald from the Emperor, which was chearefully receiud
by the King of France. The battailes being readie to ioyne,
and the Vantguard committed to my charge, inforces me 90
to end abruptly.

Your Highneffe humble Seruant,

Gafpero.

Readie to ioyne, By this, then I am nothing,
Or my Eftate fecure.

Marc. My Lord.

Sf. To doubt, 95
Is worfe then to haue loft: And to defpaire,
Is but to antidate thofe miferies,

C

I, 3, 72 seated] C M G, sated.

I, 3, 81 Post] G, "Courier" throughout.

I, 3, 84-5 Q₃, This . . . passion, one line. See note.

I, 3, 89 battailes] C M, battle.

I, 3, 92 Q₂ C M G, omit "humble".

I, 3, 97 those] Q₃, these.

And feeke for new life here. Why are you fad?
 No other sports? By Heauen he's not my friend,
 That weares one Furrow in his Face. I was told 130
 There was a Masque.

Franc. They waite your Highnesse pleasure,
 And when you please to haue it.

Sf. Bid'em enter:
 Come, make me happie once againe. I am rap't,
 'Tis not to day, to morrow, or the next,
 But all my dayes, and yeeres fhall be employed 135
 To doe thee honour.

Marc. And my life to ferue you. *A Horne.*
 [*Sf.*] Another Post? Goe hang him, hang him I fay,
 I will not interrupt my present pleasures,
 Although his message should import my Head:
 Hang him I fay.

Marc. Nay, good Sir, I am pleas'd, 140
 To grant a little intermission to you;
 Who knowes, but he brings newes, we wish to heare,
 To heighten our delights.

Sf. As wife as faire.
Ent[er] another Post.

From *Gaspero*?

Post. That was, my Lord.

Sf. How, dead?

Post. With the deliuey of this, and prayers, 145
 To guard your Excellencie from certaine dangers,
 He ceast to be a Man.

Sf. All that my feares
 Could fashion to me, or my enemies wish
 Is false vpon me. Silence, that harsh musicke,
 'Tis now vnseasonable; A tolling Bell, 150
 As a sad Harbinger to tell me, that,
 This pamper'd lumpe of Flesh, must feast the Wormes.
 'Tis fitter for me, I am sick.

Marc. My Lord.

C.

I, 3, 137 *Franc.*] Q₂ C M G, *Sf.*

I, 3, 146 *Excellencie*] Q₂, Excellence.

I, 3, 153 'Tis fitter] M G, Is fitter.

Sf. Sick to the death, *Marcelia*, Remoue
These signes of mirth, they were ominous, and but vtherd
Sorrow and ruine. 155

Marc. Bleffe vs Heauen!

Ifab. My Sonne.

Marc. What suddaine change is this?

Sf. All leaue the roome;

Ile beare alone the burthen of my griefe,
And muft admit no partner. I am yet
Your Prince, wher's your obedience? Stay *Marcelia*: 160
I cannot be fo greedie of a sorrow,
In which you muft not fhare.

[*Exeunt Tiberio, Stephano, Francisco, Isabella,
Mariana, two Posts, and Attendants.*]

Marc. And chearefully,

I will fuftaine my part. Why looke you pale?
Where is that wonted conftancie, and courage,
That dar'd the worft of Fortune? Where is *Sforza*? 165
To whom all dangers that fright common men,
Appear'd but *Panicque* terrors? Why doe you eye me
With fuch fix'd lookes? Loue, counfell, dutie, feruice,
May flow from me, not danger.

Sf. O *Marcelia*!

It is for thee I feare: For thee, thy *Sforza* 170
Shakes like a coward; For my felfe, vn mou'd:
I could haue heard my troupes were cut in peeces,
My Generall flaine; And he, on whom my hopes
Of Rule, of State, of Life, had their dependance;
The King of France, my greateft friend, made prifoner 175
To fo proud enemies.

Marc. Then you haue iuft caufe

To fhew you are a Man.

Sf. All this were nothing,

Though I ad to it, that I am affur'd
For giuing ayd to this vnfortunate King,
The Emperour incenc'd, layes his command 180
On his victorious Army, flefh'd with fpoyle,

I, 3, 154 to the death] C M, to death.

And bold of conquest, to march vp against me,
 And lease on my Estates: Suppose that done too,
 The Citie tane, the Kennels running blood,
 The ranfack'd Temples, falling on their Saints: 185
 My Mother in my fight, tofs'd on their Pikes,
 And Sifter rauifh'd: And my selfe bound fast
 In Chaines, to grace their Triumph: Or what else,
 An Enemies insolence could load me with,
 I would be *Sforza* still; But when I thinke, 190
 That my *Marcelia* (to whom, all these
 Are but as Atomes to the greatest Hill)
 Must suffer in my cause: And for me suffer
 All Earthly torments; Nay, euen those the damn'd
 Houll for in Hell, are gentle strokes, compar'd 195
 To what I feele *Marcelia*.

Marc. Good Sir, haue patience:
 I can as well partake your aduerse fortune,
 As I thus long haue had an ample share,
 In your prosperitie. Tis not in the power
 Of Fate to alter me: For while I am, 200
 In fight of't, I am yours.

Sf. But should that will
 To be so forc'd *Marcelia*? And I liue
 To see those Eyes I prize aboue mine owne,
 Dart fauours (though compel'd) vpon another?
 Or those sweet Lips (yeelding Immortall Nectar) 205
 Be gently touch'd by any but my selfe?
 Thinke, thinke *Marcelia*, what a curfed thing
 I were, beyond expreffion.

Marc. Doe not feed
 Those ieaalous thoughts; The only blessing that
 Heauen hath bestow'd on vs, more then on beasts, 210
 Is, that 'tis in our pleasure when to dye.
 Besides, were I now in anothers power,
 There are so many wayes to let out life,

C,

I, 3, 193 M G, suffer! All.

I, 3, 201-2. See note.

I, 3, 203 mine] M G, my.

I would not liue, for one fhort minute, his;
I was borne only yours, and I will dye fo. 215

Sf. Angels reward the goodneffe of this Woman:
All I can pay is nothing. [*Ent(er) Francif(co).*] Why vncall'd for?

Franc. It is of waight, Sir, that makes me thus preffe
Vpon your priuacies. Your conftant friend
The Marquiffe of Pescara, tyr'd with haft, 220
Hath bufineffe that concernes your life and fortunes,
And with fpeed to impart.

Sf. Waite on him hether; *Ex[it] Franc[isco].*
And deereft to thy Clofet: Let thy prayers
Affift my counfels.

Marc. To spare imprecations
Againft my felfe; without you I am nothing. *Ex[it] Marc[elia].* 225

Sf. The Marquiffe of Pescara; A great Souldior:
And though he feru'd vpon the aduerfe partie,
Euer my conftant friend.

Enter Francifco, Pescara.

Franc. Yonder he walkes,
Full of fad thoughts.

Pefc. Blame him not good *Francifco*,
He hath much caufe to grieue: Would I might end fo, 230
And not ad this, to feare.

Sf. My deere *Pescara*:
A miracle in thefe times, a friend and happie,
Cleaves to a falling fortune.

Pefc. If it were
As well in my weake power, in act to raife it,
As 'tis to beare a part of forrow with you; 235

You then fhould haue iuft caufe to fay, *Pescara*
Look'd not vpon your State, but on your Vertues,
When he made fuit to be writ in the Lift
Of thofe you fauord. But my haft forbids
All complement. Thus then, Sir, to the purpofe. 240
The caufe that vnattended brought me hether,

I, 3, 226 Pescara;] C M, Pescara?; G, Pescara!

Was not to tell you of your losse, or danger ;
 For Fame hath many Wings to bring ill tidings,
 And I presume you haue heard it : But to giue you
 Such friendly counsell, as perhaps may make
 Your sad difaster, lesse. 245

Sf. You are all goodnesse,
 And I giue vp my selfe to be dispos'd of,
 As in your wisdome you thinke fit.

Pesc. Thus then, Sir.
 To hope you can hold out against the Emperour,
 Were flatterie in your selfe, to your vndooing ; 250
 Therefore, the safest course that you can take,
 Is, to giue vp your selfe to his discretion,
 Before you be compeld. For rest assur'd,
 A voluntarie yeelding may find grace,
 And will admit defence, at least excuse : 255
 But should you linger doubtfull, till his Powers
 Haue seas'd your Person, and Estates perforce,
 You must expect extreames.

Sf. I vnderstand you,
 And I will put your counsell into act,
 And speedilie ; I only will take order 260
 For some Domesticall affaires, that doe
 Concerne me neerely, and with the next Sun
 Ride with you ; In the meane time, my best friend,
 Pray take your rest.

Pesc. Indeed, I haue trauaild hard,
 And will embrace your counsell. *Ex[it] Pescara.*

Sf. With all care, 265
 Attend my Noble friend. Stay you, *Francisco*,
 You see how things stand with me ?

Franc. To my grieffe :
 And if the losse of my poore life could be
 A Sacrifice, to restore them, as they were,
 I willingly would lay it downe.

I, 3, 244-5 you such, } C M G, omit first such. See note.
 Such friendly
 I, 3, 248 Pesc.] Q, Sf.
 I, 3, 240 flatterie in] C M, flatt'ring.

Sf. I thinke fo: 270
 For I haue euer found you true, and thankful,
 Which makes me loue the building I haue rays'd,
 In your aduancement: And repent no grace,
 I haue conferd vpon you: And beleeeue me,
 Though now I should repeate my fauours to you, 275
 The Titles I haue giuen you, and the meanes
 Sutable to your Honours, that I thought you
 Worthy my Sifter, and my Family,
 And in my Dukedome made you next my selfe:
 It is not to vpbraid you: But to tell you 280
 I find you are worthy of them in your loue,
 And seruice to me.

Franc. Sir, I am your Creature:
 And any fhape, that you would haue me weare,
 I gladly will put on.

Sf. Thus, then *Francifco*;
 I now am to deliuer to your trust, 285
 A weightie secret: Of so strange a nature,
 And 'twill I know appeare so monstros to you,
 That you will tremble in the execution,
 As much as I am tortur'd, to command it:
 For 'tis a deed so horrid, that but to heare it, 290
 Would strike into a Ruffian flesh'd in murthers,
 Or an obdurate Hang-man, soft compaffion;
 And yet *Francifco* (of all Men the deereft,
 And from me most deseruing) such my ftate,
 And strange condition is, that thou alone, 295
 Muft know the fatall seruice, and performe it.

Franc. These preparations, Sir, to worke a stranger,
 Or to one, vnacquainted with your bounties,
 Might appeare vsfull: But to me, they are
 Needleffe impertinances: For, I dare doe, 300
 What e're you dare command.

Sf. But thou muft sweare it,

I, 3, 300 impertinances] C M G, Impertinencies.
 I, 3, 301 thou] G, you.

And put into thy Oath, all ioyes, or torments
 That fright the wicked, or confirme the good :
 Not to conceale it only, that is nothing ;
 But whenfoe're my will fhall fpeake, ftrike now : 305
 To fall vpon't like Thunder.

Franc. Minister
 The Oath, in any way, or forme you please,
 I ftand refolu'd to take it.

Sf. Thou muft doe then,
 What no maleuolent Star will dare to looke on,
 It is fo wicked : For which, Men will curfe thee, 310
 For being the Infturment : And the bleft Angels,
 Forfake me at my need, for being the Author :
 For 'tis a deed of Night, of Night *Francifco*,
 In which the memorie of all good Actions,
 We can pretend too, fhall be buried quick ; 315
 Or if we be remembred, it fhall be
 To fright pofteritie, by our example :
 That haue out-gone all prefidents of Villaines,
 That were before vs : And fuch as fucceed,
 Though taught in hels black fchoole, fhall ne're com nere vs. 320
 Art thou not fhaken yet ?

Franc. I grant you moue me :
 But to a Man confirm'd ;

Sf. Ile try your temper :
 What thinke you of my Wife ?

Franc. As a thing Sacred :
 To whole faire Name, and memorie, I pay gladly
 Thefe fignes of dutie.

Sf. Is fhe not the abfttract 325
 Of all that's rare, or to be with't in Woman ?

Franc. It were a kind of blafphemy to difpute it :
 But to the purpofe Sir.

Sf. Ad to her goodneffe,
 Her tenderneffe of me, Her care to pleafe me,

D

I, 3, 302 or] Q, all.

I, 3, 328 ad to her] G, add too, her.

Her vn suspected chaf tity, nere equall'd : 330
 Her Innocence, her honor : O I am loft
 In the Ocean of her vertues, and her graces,
 When I thinke of them.

Fran. Now I finde the end
 Of all your coniurations : there's fome feruice
 To be done for this 'fweet Lady ; If ſhe haue enemies 335
 That ſhe would haue remou'd ?

Sf. Alas *Francifco,*
 Her greateſt enemy is her greateſt louer,
 Yet in that hatred, her Idolater.
 One ſmile of hers would make a ſauage tame ;
 One accent of that tongue would calme the Seas, 340
 Though all the windes at once ſtroue there for Empire.
 Yet I, for whom ſhe thinks all this too little,
 Should I miſcarry in this preſent iourney,
 (From whence it is all number to a cypher,
 I ner'e returne with honor) by thy hand 345
 Muſt haue her murdered.

Fra. Murther'd ? Shee that loues fo,
 And ſo deſerues to be belou'd againe ?
 And I, (who ſometimes you were pleas'd to fauor)
 Pick'd out the inſtrument ?

Sf. Doe not flye off :
 What is decreed, can neuer be recal'd ; 350
 'Tis more than loue to her, that markes her out,
 A wiſh'd companion to me, in both fortunes :
 And ſtrong affurance of thy zealous faith,
 That giues vp to thy truſt a ſecret, that
 Racks ſhould not haue forc'd from me. O *Francifco:* 355
 There is no heauen without her ; nor a hell,
 Where ſhe recides. I aſke from her but iuſtice,
 And what I would haue payd to her : had fickenefſe,
 Or any other accident diuorc'd,
 Her purer foule, from [her] vnſpotted body. 360

I, 3, 339 ſauage] Q, ſaluage.

I, 3, 343 Q, omits I.

I, 3, 360 his] C M N G, her. G., his.

The flauifh Indian Princes when they dye
 Are cheerefully attended to the fire,
 By the wife, and flauē, that liuing they lou'd beft,
 To doe them feruice in another world :
 Nor will I be leffe honor'd, that loue more. 365
 And therefore trifle not, but in thy lookes,
 Expreffe a ready purpofe to performe,
 What I command, or by *Marcelias* foule,
 This is thy lateft minute.

Fran. 'Tis not feare
 Of death, but loue to you, makes me embrace it; 370
 But for mine owne security when 'tis done,
 What warrant haue I? If you please to figne one,
 I fhall, though with vnwillingneffe and horror,
 Perform your dreadfull charge.

Sf. I will *Francifco*;
 But ftill remember, that a Princes fecrets 375
 Are balme, conceal'd: but poyfon, if difcouer'd.
 I may come backe; then this is but a tryall,
 To purchafe thee, if it were poffible,
 A neerer place in my affection; but
 I know thee honeft.

Fran. 'Tis a Character 380
 I will not part with.

Sf. I may liue to reward it. *Exe[u]nt.*

Actus Secun[di,] Scae[na] Prima.

Tiberio Stephano.

Ste. How? left the Court?

Tib. Without guard or retinue
 Fitting a Prince.

Ste. No enemy neere, to force him?
 To leaue his owne ftrengths, yet deliuer vp

Himselfe, as 'twere in bonds, to the discretion
 Of him that hates him? 'Tis beyond example: 5
 You neuer heard the motiues, that induc't him,
 To this ftrange courfe?

Tib. No, those are Cabinet counsels,
 And not to be communicated, but
 To such as are his owne, and fure; Alas,
 We fill vp emptie places, and in publique, 10
 Are taught to giue our fuffrages to that,
 Which was before determin'd: And are safe fo;
 Signiour *Francifco* (vpon whom alone
 His absolute power is with al strength confer'd,
 During his abfence) can with ease refolue you. 15
 To me, they are Riddles.

Steph. Well, he fhall not be,
 My *Oedipus*, Ile rather dwell in darkeneffe.
 But my good Lord *Tiberio*, This *Francifco*,
 Is, on the fuddaine, ftrangely rays'd.

Tib. O Sir,
 He tooke the thryuing courfe: He had a Sifter, 20
 A faire one too; With whom (as it is rumor'd)
 The Duke was too familiar; But she caft off,
 (What promifes foeuer paft betweene them)
 Vpon the fight of this, forfooke the Court,
 And fince was neuer feene; To smother this, 25
 (As Honors neuer faile to purchafe filence)
Francifco firft was grac'd, and ftep by ftep,
 Is rais'd vp to this height.

Steph. But how is his abfence borne?

Tib. Sadly, it feemes 30
 By the Dutches: For fince he left the Court,
 For the moft part, she hath kept her priuate Chamber,
 No vifitants admitted; In the Church,
 She hath been feene to pay her pure deuotions,
 Seafon'd with teares: And fure her forrow's t[r]ue,

II, 1, 29-30 G, rearranges. See note.

II, 1, 34, ttue] Q₂ C M G, true.

Or deeply counterfeited ; Pompe, and State, 35
 And brauerie cast off : And she that lately
 Riuald *Poppæa* in her varied shapes,
 Or the Ægyptian Queene: Now, widow-like,
 In Sable coluors (as, her Husbands dangers,
 Strangled in her, the vse of any pleasure) 40
 Mournes for his absence.

Steph. It becomes her Vertue,
 And does confirme, what was reported of her.

Tib. You take it right ; But on the other side,
 The darling of his Mother, *Mariana*,
 As there were an Antipathy betweene 45
 Her, and the Dutches paffions: And as
 Sh'ad no dependance on her brothers fortune,
 She ne're appear'd fo full of mirth.

Steph. 'Tis ftrange.
Ent[er] Graccho with fdlers.

But see, her fauorite : & accompani'd,
 To your report.

Grac. You shall scrape, and Ile fing, 50
 A scruie Dittie, to a scruie tune,
 Repine who dares.

Fidl. But if we should offend,
 The Dutches hauing filenc't vs : & these Lords,
 Stand by to heare vs.

Grac. They, in Name are Lords,
 But I am one in Power : And for the Dutches, 55
 But yester-day we were merrie for her pleasure,
 We now'l be for my Ladies.

Tib. Signiour *Graccho*.

Gr. A poore Man, Sir, a Seruant to the Princes :
 But you, great Lords, and Councillors of State,
 Whom I stand bound to reuerence.

Tib. Come, we know 60
 You are a Man in grace.

Grac. Fye, no: I grant,
 D,

II, 1, 36 brauerie] C M, bravery's.

II, 1, 59 you great] M, you're great.

I beare my fortunes patiently : Serue the Princeffe,
 And haue [ac]ceffe at all times, to her closet,
 Such is my impudence : When your graue Lordships
 Are mafters of the modefty, to attend 65
 Three houres, nay fometimes foure ; and then bid waite
 Vpon her the next morning.

Ste. He derides vs.

Tib. Pray you, what newes is ftirring? you know all.

Grac. Who, I? alas, I haue no intelligence
 At home, nor abroad : I onely fometimes gueffe 70
 The change of the times ; I fhould ask of your Lordships
 Who are to keepe their Honors, who to loofe'em ;
 Who the Ducheffe fmil'd on laft, or on whom frown'd,
 You onely can refolue me : we poore waiters
 Deale (as you fee) in mirth, and foolifh fyddles : 75
 It is our element ; and could you tell me,
 What point of State 'tis, that I am commanded
 To mufter vp this muficke : on mine honefty,
 You fhould much befriend me.

Ste. Sirra, you grow fawcie. (

Tib. And would be layd by the heeles.

Grac. Not by your Lordships, 80
 Without a fpeciall warrant ; looke to your owne ftakes ;
 Were I committed, here come thofe would baile me :
 Perhaps we might change places too.

Ent[er] Isabella, Mariana.

Tib. [*aside*] The Princeffe ;
 We muft be patient.

Ste. [*aside*] There's no contending.

Tib. [*aside*] See, the informing rogue.

Ste. [*aside*] That we fhould ftoope 85
 To fuch a Mufhrome.

Mari. [*aside to Graccho*] Thou doft miftake ; they durft not
 Vie the leaft word of fcorne, although prouok'd,
 To any thing of mine. [*To Tib. and Steph.*] Goe, get you home,
 And to your feruants, friends, and flatterers, number

II, 1, 63 *successes*] C M G, *access*.

II, 1, 71 of the times] Q₂ omits the.

II, 1, 79 *should*] M, *would*.

How many difcents you are noble ; Look to your wiues too, 90
The fsmooth-chin'd Courtiers are abroad.

Tib. No way, to be a Free-man?

Ex[eunt] Tib[erio and] Steph[ano].

Grac. Your Excellence, hath the beft guift to difpatch,
Thefe Arras pictures of Nobilitie,
I euer read of.

Mari. I can fpeake fometimes. 95

Grac. And couer fo your bitter Pills, with fweetneffe
Of Princely language. to forbid reply,
They are greedily fwallowed.

Ifab. But, the purpofe Daughter,
That brings vs hither? Is it to beftow
A vifit on this Woman? That, becaufe 100
She only would be thoght truly to grieue,
The abfence, and the dangers of my Son,
Proclaimes a generall fadneffe?

Mari. If to vexee her,
May be interpreted to doe her Honor,
She fhall haue many of 'em? Ile make vfe 105
Of my fhort Raigne : my Lord, now gouernes all :
And fhe fhall know, that her Idolater,
My Brother, being not by, now to protect her,
I am her equall.

Grac. [*afide*] Of a little thing,
It is fo full of Gall : A Diuell of this fize, 110
Should they run for a wager to be fpitefull,
Gets not a Horf-head of her.

Mari. On her Birth-day,
We were forc'd to be merrie : & now fhe's mufty
We muft be fad, on paine of her difpleafure ;
We will, we will. This is her priuate Chamber, 115
Where like an Hypocrite, not a true Turtle,
She feemes to mourne her abfent Mate, her Seruants
Attending her like Mutes : But Ile fpeake to her
And in a high Key too, [*to fiddlers*] play anything

II, 1, 98 the purpose] C M G., to the purpose.

- That's light and loud enough but to torment her, 120
 And we will haue rare sport. *Song. Marcelia aboue in blacke.*
Ifab. She frownes, as if
 Her lookes could fright vs.
- Mari.* May it please your greatneffe,
 We heard that your late Phyficke hath not work'd,
 And that breeds Melancholy, as your Doctor tells vs :
 To purge which, we that are born your Highneffe Vaffals, 125
 And are to play the fooles to doe you seruice,
 Prefent you with a fit of mirth: what thinke you
 Of a new Anticke?
- Ifab.* 'Twould show rare in Ladies.
Mari. Being intended for so sweet a creature,
 Were she but pleas'd to grace it.
- Ifab.* Fye, she will, 130
 Be it nere so meane: shee's made of courtesie.
- Mari.* The Mistresse of all hearts; one smile I pray you
 On your poore seruants, or a Fidlers fee:
 Comming from those faire hands, though but a Ducat,
 We will inhrine it as a holy relique. 135
- Ifab.* 'Tis Wormewood, and it workes.
- Marc.* If I lay by
 My feares, and griefes (in which you should be sharers)
 If doting age could let you but remember,
 You haue a sonne; or frontlesse impudence,
 You are a fister; and, in making answere, 140
 To what was most vnfit for you to speake,
 Or me to heare: borrow of my iust anger.
- Ifab.* A set speech on my life.
- Mari.* Pen'd by her Chaplaine.
Marce. Yes, it can speake, without instruction speake;
 And tell your want of manners, that y'are rude, 145
 And sawcily rude, too.
- Grac.* Now the game begins.
- Marce.* You durst not else on any hire or hope,

II, 1, 126 fooles] M G, fool.

II, 1, 144 it] C M, I.

(Remembring what I am, and whose I am)
Put on the desperate boldnesse, to disturbe
The least of my retirements.

Mari. Note her now. 150

Marc. For both shal vnderstand; though th'one perfume
Vpon the priuiledge due to a Mother,
The Duke stands now on his owne legs, and needs
No nurse to leade him.

Ifab. How, a Nurse?

Marc. A dry one,
And vfelesse too: But I am mercifull, 155
And dotage signes your pardon.

Ifab. I defie thee,
Thee, and thy pardons, proud one.

Marc. For you, Puppet.

Mari. What, of me? Pine-tree.

Marc. Little you are, I grant,
And haue as little worth, but much lesse wit,
You durst not else, the Duke being wholly mine, 160
His power and honour mine, and the alleageance,
You owe him, as a Subiect, due to me.

Mari. To you?

Marc. To me: And therefore as a Vassal,
From this houre learne to serue me, or, you'l feele,
I must make vse of my authoritie, 165
And as a Princeesse punish it.

Ifab. A Princeesse?

Mari. I had rather be a Slaue vnto a Moore,
Than know thee for my equall.

Ifab. Scornefull thing,
Proud of a white Face.

Mari. Let her but remember
The Issue in her Legge:

Ifab. The charge, she puts 170
The State too, for Perfumes.

Mari. And, howfoe're
 She feemes, when fhe's made vp: As fhe's her felfé,
 She ftinkes about ground. O that I could reach you,
 The little one you fcorne fo, with her nayles,
 Would teare your painted Face, & fcratch thofe Eyes out. 175
 Doe but come downe.

Marc. Were there no other way,
 But leaping on thy Neck, to breake mine owne,
 Rather than be outbrau'd thus.

[*Exit above.*]

Grac. [*aside*] Fourtie Ducats
 Vpon the little Hen: She's of the kind,
 And will not leaue the Pit.

Mari. That it were lawfull 180
 To meete her with a Ponyard, and a Piftoll;
 But thefe weake hands fhall fhew my fpleene.

Enter Marc[elia] below.

Marc. Where are you? You Modicum, you Dwarfé.

Mari. Here, Gianteffe, here.

Ent[er] Francifco, Tib[erio], Steph[ano and Guards.]

Franc. A tumult in the Court?

Mari. Let her come on.

Franc. What winde hath rais'd this tempeft? 185
 Seuer 'em, I command you. What's the caufe?
 Speake *Mariana*.

Mari. I am out of breath;
 But we fhall meete, we fhall. And doe you heare, Sir,
 Or right me on this Monfter (fhe's three foote
 Too high for a Woman) or ne're looke to haue, 190
 A quiet houre with me.

Ifab. If my Sonne were here,
 And would endure this; May a Mothers curfe
 Perfue, and ouertake him.

Franc. O forbearé,
 In me he's prefent, both in power, and will;
 And Madam, I much grieue, that in his abfence, 195
 There fhould arife the leaft diftafte to moue you:
 It being his principall, nay only charge,

II, 1, 173 above ground] G, above the ground.

II, 1, 189 foote] M G, feet.

To haue you in his abſence feru'd, and honour'd,
As when himſelfe perform'd the willing Office.

Mari. This is fine, yfaith.

Grac. I would I were well off. 200

Franc. And therefore, I beſeech you Madam, frowne not
(Till moſt vnwittingly he hath deferu'd it)

On your poore Seruant; To your Excellence,
I euer was, and will be ſuch: And lay,
The Dukes authoritie, truſted to me, 205
With willingneſſe at your feet.

Mari. O baſe.

Ifab. We are like

To haue an equall Iudge.

Franc. But ſhould I finde
That you are touc[h]d in any point of Honor,
Or that the leaſt neglect is falſe vpon you,
I then ſtand vp a Prince.

Fidl. [to *Graccho*] Without reward, 210
Pray you diſmiſſe vs.

Grac. Would I were five Leagues hence.

Franc. I will be partial to none, not to my ſelfe,
Be you but pleas'd to ſhew me my offence,
Or if you hold me in your good opinion,
Name thoſe that haue offended you.

Ifab. I am one, 215
And I will iuſtifie it.

Mari. Thou art a baſe Fellow,
To take her part.

Franc. Remember, ſhe's the Dutcheſſe.

Marc. But vs'd with more contempt, than if I were
A Peaſants Daughter: Bayted, and hooted at
Like to a common Strumpet: With lowd noyſes, 220
Forc'd from my prayers: And my priuate Chamber
(Which with all willingneſſe I would make my Priſon
During the abſence of my Lord) deni'd me.
But if he e're returne.

E₂

II, 1, 208 touc'd] Q₂ C M G, touch'd.

II, 1, 212 G, rearranges. See note.

- Franc.* Were you an Actor,
In this lewd Comedie?
- Mari.* I marrie was I, 225
And will be one againe.
- Ifab.* I'le ioyne with her,
Though you repine at it.
- Franc.* Thinke not then, I speake
(For I stand bound to honour, and to ferue you)
But that the Duke, that liues in this great Lady,
For the contempt of him, in her, commands you 230
To be clofe Prifoners.
- Ifab. Mari.* Prifoners?
- Franc.* Beare them hence.
This is your charge my Lord *Tiberio*,
And *Stephano*, this is yours.
- Marce.* I am not cruell,
But pleas'd they may haue libertie.
- Ifab.* Pleas'd, with a mischief.
- Mari.* I'le rather liue in any loathfome Dungeon, 235
Than in a Paradiſe, at her intreatie:
And, for you vpstart.
- Steph.* There is no contending.
- Tib.* What ſhall become of theſe?
- Franc.* See them well whip'd,
As you will anſwere it.
- Tib.* Now Signiour *Graccho*,
What thinke you of your greatneſſe?
- Grac.* I preach patience, 240
And muſt endure my fortune.
- Fidl.* I was neuer yet
At ſuch a hunt'vp, nor was ſo rewarded.
- Exe[unt] omnes, preter Fra[nciſco] & Marcel[ia].*
- Fr.* Let them firſt know themſelues, & how you are
To be feru'd, and honour'd: Which, when they confeſſe,
You may againe receiue them to your fauour: 245
- II, 1, 240 What thinke you] Q, C M, What's become.

And then it will shew nobly.

Marce. With my thanks,
The Duke shall pay you his, If he returne
To blesse vs with his presence.

Franc. There is nothing
That can be added to your faire acceptance:
That is the prize, indeed: All else, are blankes, 250
And of no value. As in vertuous actions,
The vnder taker finds a full reward,
Although confer'd vpon vnthankfull Men;
So, any seruice done to so much sweetnesse,
(Howeuer dangerous, and subiect to 255
An ill construction) in your fauour finds
A wish'd, and glorious end.

Marce. From you, I take this
As loyall dutie, but in any other,
It would appeare grosse flatterie.

Franc. Flatterie, Madam?
You are so rare, and excellent in all things, 260
And rais'd so high vpon a Rock of goodnesse,
As that vice cannot reach you: who, but looks on
This Temple built by Nature to Perfection,
But must bow to it: and out of that zeale,
Not only learne to adore it, but to loue it. 265

Marce. [*aside*] Whither will this fellow?

Franc. Pardon therefore Madam,
If an exceffe in me of humble dutie,
Teach me to hope (and though it be not in
The power of Man to merit such a blessing)
My pietie (for it is more than loue) 270
May find reward.

Marce. You haue it in my thanks:
And on my hand, I am pleas'd, that you shall take
A full possession of it. But take heed,
That you fix here, & feed no hope beyond this;

E,

II, I, 261-2. See note.

II, I, 268-71 G, omits brackets.

II, I, 274 this] G, it.

If you doe, 'twill proue fatall.

Franc. Be it death, 275
And death with torments, Tyrants neuer found out:
Yet I muft fay I loue you.

Marce. As a Subiect,
And 'twill become you.

Franc. Farewell circumftance:
And fince you are not pleas'd to vnderftand me,
But by a plaine, and vfuall forme of fpeech: 280
All fuperftitious reuerence lay'd by,
I loue you as a Man, and as a Man
I would enjoy you. Why do you ftart, and flye me?
I am no Monfter, and you but a Woman:
A Woman made to yeeld, and by example 285
Told it is lawfull; Fauours of this nature,
Are, in our age, no miracles in the greateft:
And therefore Lady—

Marce. Keepe of. O you Powers!
Libidinous Beaft, and ad to that vnthankfull
(A crime, which Creatures wanting reafon, flye from) 290
Are all the Princely bounties, fauours, honours,
Which (with fome preiudice to his owne wifedome)
Thy Lord, and Rayfer hath confer'd vpon thee,
In three dayes abfence buried? Hath he made thee
(A thing obfcure, almost without a name) 295
The enuie of great Fortunes? Haue I grac'd thee,
Beyond thy rancke? And entertain'd thee, as
A Friend, and not a Seruant? And is this,
This impudent attempt to taint mine Honour,
The faire returne of both our ventur'd fauours? 300

Franc. Heare my excufe.

Marce. The Diuell may plead mercie,
And with as much affurance, as thou yeeld one.
Burnes Luft fo hot in thee? Or, is thy pride
Growne vp to fuch a height, that, but a Princeffe,

No Woman can content thee? And ad to that, 305
 His Wife, and Princeffe, to whom thou art ti'de
 In all the bonds of Dutie? Reade my life,
 And finde one act of mine fo loofely carried,
 That could inuite a moft felfe-louing-Foole,
 Set of, with all that fortune could throw on him, 310
 To the leaft hope to find way to my fauour:
 And (what's the worft mine enemies could with me)
 I'le be thy Strumpet.

Franc. 'Tis acknowledg'd Madam,
 That your whole courfe of life hath been a patterne
 For chaft, and vertuous Women; In your beautie 315
 (Which I firft faw, and lou'd) as a faire Criftall,
 I read your heauenly mind, cleere and vntainted;
 And while the Duke did prize you to your valew
 (Could it haue been in Man to pay that dutie)
 I well might enuie him, but durft not hope 320
 To ftop you, in your full carrear of goodneffe:
 But now I find, that he's falne from his fortune,
 And (howfoeuer he would appeare doting)
 Growne cold in his affection: I prefume,
 From his moft barbarous neglect of you, 325
 To offer my true feruice: Nor ftand I bound,
 To looke back on the curtefies of him,
 That, of all liuing Men, is moft vnthankfull.

Marce. Vnheard-of impudence!

Franc. You'l fay I am modeft,
 When I haue told the Storie. Can he taxe me 330
 (That haue receiu'd fome worldly trifles from him)
 For being ingratefull? When, he that firft tasted,
 And hath fo long enioy'd your fweet embraces
 (In which, all bleffings that our fraile condition
 Is capable of, is wholly comprehended) 335
 As cloy'd with happineffe, contemnes the giuer
 Of his felicitie? And, as he reach'd not,

II, 1, 305 that] G, it.

II, 1, 332 ingratefull] C M G, ungratefull.

II, 1, 335 is] M G, are.

Fran. Pray you doe fo.

Marc. [*reads*] You know my pleafure, & the houre of *Marcelias* death, which faile not to execute, as you will anfwere the contrarie, not with your Head alone, but with the ruine of your whole Famely. And this written with mine owne Hand, and Signed with my priuie Signet, fhall be your fufficient Warrant. 375

Lodouico Sforza.

I doe obey it, euerie word's a Poynard,
And reaches to my Heart.

She fwones.

Fran. What haue I done?

Madam, for Heauens fake, Madam. O my Fate! 380
I'le bend her body: This is yet fome pleafure,
I'le kiffe her into a new life. Deare Lady:
She ftirs: For the Dukes fake, for *Sforza's* fake.

Marc. *Sforzas?* Stand off: Though dead, I will be his,
And euen my Afhes fhall abhorre the touch 385
Of any other. O vnkind, and cruell.

Learne Women, learne to trust in one another;
There is no faith in Man: *Sforza* is falfe,
Falfe to *Marcelia*.

Fran. But I am true,

And liue to make you happie. All the Pompe; 390
State, and obseruance you had being his,
Compar'd to what you fhall enioy when mine,
Shall be no more remembred. Looſe his memory,
And looke with chearefull beames on your new Creature:
And know what he hath plotted for your good, 395
Fate cannot alter. If the Emperour,

Take not his life, at his returne he dyes,
And by my Hand: My Wife, that is his Heire,
Shall quickly follow; Then we Raigne alone,
For with this Arme I'le fwim through Seas of blood, 400
Or make a Bridge, arch'd with the bones of Men,
But I will graspe my aymes in you my deereft,
Deereft, and beft of Women.

F

II, 1, 387 Q₂ omits "in".

II, 1, 397 G, "dies. And".

II, 1, 402 graspe my aymes] C, grasp my arms; M, grasp you in my arms.

Marc. Thou art a Villaine?
 All attributes of Arch-Villaines made into one,
 Cannot expresse thee. I preferre the hate 405
 Of *Sforza*, though it marke me for the Graue,
 Before thy bafe affection. I am yet
 Pure, and vnspotted, in my true loue to him ;
 Nor shall it be corrupted, though he's tainted ;
 Nor will I part with Innocence, because 410
 He is found guiltie. For thy selfe, thou art
 A thing, that equall with the Diuell himselfe,
 I doe detest, and fcorne.

Franc. Thou then art nothing :
 Thy life is in my power, difdainefull Woman :
 Thinke on't, and tremble.

Marc. No, though thou wert now 415
 To play thy hangmans part. Thou well may'ft be
 My Executioner, and art only fit
 For such employment ; But ne're hope to haue,
 The least grace from me. I will neuer see thee, 420
 But as the shame of Men : So, with my curses
 Of horror to thy Conscience in this life ;
 And paines in Hell hereafter : I spit at thee,
 And making hast to make my peace with heauen,
 Expect thee as my Hangman. *Ex[it] Marc[elia].*

Franc. I am loft,
 In the difcouerie of this fatall secret. 425
 Curs'd hope that flatter'd me, that wrongs could make her
 A stranger to her goodnesse ; All my plots
 Turne back vpon my selfe ; But I am in,
 And must goe on ; And since I haue put off
 From the Shoare of Innocence, guilt be now my Pilot. 430
 Reuenge first wrought me, Murther's his Twin-brother,
 One deadly fin then helpe to cure another. [*Exit Francisco.*]

II, 1, 430 now] Q₂, thou.

Actus Ter[tii,] Scae[na] Prima.

Enter Medina, Hernando, Alphonso.

Med. The spoyle, the spoyle, 'tis that the soldior fights for;
Our victorie as yet affords vs nothing,
But wounds, and emptie honor. We haue past
The hazard of a dreadfull day, and forc'd
A paffage with our Swords, through all the dangers, 5
That Page-like waite on the successe of warre;
And now expect reward.

Hern. Hell put it in
The Enemies mind to be desperate, and hold out:
Yeeldings, and compositions will vndoe vs;
And what is that way giuen, for the most part, 10
Comes to the Emperours Coffers, to defray
The charge of the great action (as 'tis rumor'd)
When vsually, some Thing in Grace (that ne're heard
The Canons roring tongue, but at a Triumph)
Puts in, and for his intercession fhares, 15
All that we fought for: The poore Soldior left
To starue, or fill vp Hospitalls.

Alph. But when
We enter Townes by force, and carue our felues,
Pleasure with pillage, and the richest Wines,
Open our shrunke-vp vaines, and poure into 'em 20
New blood, and feruor.

Med. I long to be at it;
To see these Chuffes, that euerie day may spend
A Soldiors entertainment for a yeere,
Yet make a third meale of a bunch of Rayfons;
These Spunges, that suck vp a Kingdomes fat 25
(Batning like *Scarabes* in the dung of Peace)
To be squees'd out by the rough hand of warre;
And all that their whole liues haue heap'd together,

F₂

III, 1, 7 And now expect] Q₂, And now we expect.

III, 1, 12 the great] M, that great.

III, 1, 22 chuffes] M, choughs.

III, 1, 24 third] M, thin.

By cous'nage, periurie, or fordid thrift,
With one gripe to be rauifh'd.

Her. I would be towling 30
Their faire *Madona's*, that in little Dogges,
Monkeis, and Paraquito's confume thoufands;
Yet for the aduancement of a noble action,
Repine to part with a poore Peice of Eight:
Warres plagues vpon 'em: I haue feene 'em ftop 35
Their fcornefull nofes firft, then feeme to fwone
At fight of a buffe Ierkin, if it were not
Perfum'd, and hid with Gold; Yet thefe nice wantons,
(Spurd on by Luft, couer'd in fome difguife,
To meete fome rough Court Stalion, and be leap'd) 40
Durf't enter into any common Brothell,
Though all varieties of ftinke contend there;
Yet prayfe the entertainment.

Med. I may liue,
To fee the tatteredft Raskals of my troupe,
Drag 'em out of their Clofets, with a vengeance: 45
When neither threatning, flattering, kneeling, howling,
Can ranfome one poore Iewell, or redeeme
Themfelues, from their blunt woing.

Her. My maine hope is,
To begin the fport at Millaine: Ther's enough,
And of all kinds of pleafure we can wifh for, 50
To fatisfie the moft couetous.

Alph. Euerie day
We looke for a remoue.

Med. For *Lodowick Sforza*
The Duke of Millaine, I, on mine owne knowledge,
Can fay thus much; He is too much a Soldior,
Too confident of his owne worth, too rich to; 55
And vnderftands too well, the Emperor hates him,
To hope for compofition.

Alph. On my life,

We need not feere his comming in.

Her. On mine,

I doe not with it: I had rather that
To shew his valor, he'd put vs to the trouble 60
To fetch him in by the Eares.

Med. The Emperor.

Enter Charles the Emperor, Pescara, &c. Attendants.

Charl. You make me wonder. (Nay it is no councell,
You may pertake it Gentlemen) who would haue thought,
That he that scorn'd our proffer'd amitie,
When he was fued to; should, ere he be summond, 65
(Whither perfwaded to it by base feare,
Or flatter'd by false hope, which, 'tis vncertaine)
Firft kneele for mercie?

Med. When your Maieftie,
Shall please to instruct vs, who it is, we may
Admire it with you.

Charl. Who, but the Duke of Millaine, 70
The right Hand of the French: Of all that stand
In our displeasure, whom necessitie
Compels to seeke our fauour, I would haue sworne
Sforza had been the last.

Her. And should be writ so,
In the list of those you pardon. Would his Citie 75
Had rather held vs out a Seidge like Troy,
Then by a feind submission, he should cheate you
Of a iust reuenge: Or vs, of those faire glories
We haue sweat blood to purchase.

Med. With your honour
You cannot heare him.

Alph. The sack alone of Millaine 80
Will pay the Armie.

Charl. I am not so weake,
To be wrought on as you feare; Nor ignorant,
That Money is the finew of the Warre;

And [on] what termes foeuer he feeke peace,
'Tis in our power to grant it, or denie it. 85

Yet for our glorie, and to shew him that
We haue brought him on his knees; It is resolu'd
To heare him as a Supplyant. Bring him in;
But let him see the effects of our iust anger,
In the Guard that you make for him. *Ex[it] Piscara*

Hern. I am now 90

Familiar with the iffue (all plagues on it)
He will appeare in some dejected habit,
His countenance futable; And for his order,
A Rope about his neck; Then kneele, and tell
Old Stories, what a worthy thing it is 95

To haue power, and not to vse it; Then ad to that
A Tale of King *Tigranes*, and great *Pompey*,
Who said (forfooth, and wisely) 'Twas more honor
To make a King, then kill one: Which, applyed
To the Emperor, and himselfe, a Pardons granted 100
To him, an Enemie; and we his Seruants,
Condemn'd to beggerie.

En[ter] Sforza

Med. Yonder he comes,
But not as you expected.

Alph. He lookes, as if
He would out-face his dangers.

Hern. I am coufen'd:
A fuitor in the Diuels name.

Med. Heare him speake. 105

Sf. I come not (Emperor) to inuade thy mercie,
By fawning on thy fortune; Nor bring with me
Excuses, or denials. I professe
(And with a good Mans confidence, euen this instant,
That I am in thy power) I was thine enemie; 110
Thy deadly and vow'd enemie; One that with'd
Confusion to thy Person and Estates;
And with my vtmost powers, and deepest counsels

III, 1, 84 and what] C M G, and on what.

(Had they been truely followed) further'd it:
 Nor will I now, although my neck were vnder
 The Hang-mans Axe, with one poore fillable
 Confesse, but that I honor'd the French King,
 More then thy selfe, and all Men. 115

Med. By Saint Iaques,

This is no flatterie.

Her. There is fire, and Spirit in't;
 But not long liu'd, I hope.

Sf. Now giue me leaue, 120

(My hate against thy selfe, and loue to him
 Freely acknowledg'd) to giue vp the reasons
 That made me so affected. In my wants
 I euer found him faithfull; Had supplies
 Of Men and Moneys from him; And my hopes 125
 Quite funke, were by his Grace, bouy'd vp againe:

He was indeed to me, as my good Angell,
 To guard me from all dangers. I dare speake
 (Nay muft and will) his praye now, in as high
 And lowd a key, as when he was thy equall. 130

The benefits he fow'd in me, met not
 Vnthankefull ground, but yeilded him his owne
 With faire encrease, and I still glorie in it.
 And though my fortunes (poore, compar'd to his,
 And Millaine waigh'd with France, appeare as nothing) 135

Are in thy furie burnt: Let it be mentioned,
 They feru'd but as small Tapers to attend
 The solemne flame at this great Funerall:
 And with them I will gladly waite my selfe,
 Rather then vndergoe the imputation, 140
 Of being base, or vnthankefull.

Alph. Nobly spoken.

Her. I doe begin, I know not why, to hate him
 Lesse then I did.

Sf. If that then to be gratefull

III, 1, 135 appeare] Q, appears.

III, 1, 138 this] M, his.

For curtesies receiu'd; Or not to leaue
 A friend in his necessities, be a crime 145
 Amongst you Spaniards (which other Nations
 That like [you] aym'd at Empire, lou'd, and cherifh'd
 Where e're they found it) *Sforza* brings his Head
 To pay the forfeit; Nor come I as a Slaue,
 Piniond and fetterd, in a squallid weed, 150
 Falling before thy Feet, kneeling and howling,
 For a forstal'd remiffion; That were poore,
 And would but fhamme thy victorie: For conquest
 Ouer bafe foes, is a captiuitie,
 And not a triumph. I ne're fear'd to dye, 155
 More then I wifh'd to liue. When I had reach'd
 My ends in being a Duke, I wore thefe Robes,
 This Crowne vpon my Head, and to my fide
 This Sword was girt; And witneffe truth, that now
 'Tis in anothers power when I fhall part 160
 With them and life together, I am the fame,
 My Veines then did not swell with pride; nor now,
 They fhinke for feare: Know Sir, that *Sforza* ftands
 Prepar'd for either fortune.

Her. As I liue,
 I doe begin ftrangely to loue this fellow; 165
 And could part with three quarters of my fhare
 In the promis'd fpoyle, to faue him.

Sf. But if example
 Of my fidelitie to the French (whofe honours,
 Titles, and glories, are now mixt with yours;
 As Brookes deuowr'd by Riuers, loofe their names) 170
 Has power to inuite you to make him a friend,
 That hath giuen euident prooffe, he knowes to loue,
 And to be thankfull; This my Crowne, now yours,
 You may reftore me: And in me instruct
 Thefe braue Commanders (fhould your fortune change, 175
 Which now I wifh not) what they may expect,

III, 1, 147 your] C M G, you.

III, 1, 163 They shrinke] M G, Shrink they:

III, 1, 166 C M G, "—— share in
 The promised ——."

From noble enemies for being faithfull.
 The charges of the warre I will defray,
 And what you may (not without hazard) force,
 Bring freely to you: I'le preuent the cryes 180
 Of murther'd Infants, and of rauish'd Mayds,
 Which in a Citie sack'd call on Heauens iustice,
 And stop the courfe of glorious victories.
 And when I know the Captaines and the Soldiours,
 That haue in the late battle, done best feruice, 185
 And are to be rewarded; I, my felfe
 (According to their quallitie and merrits)
 Will see them largely recompenc'd. I haue faid,
 And now expect my fentence.

Alph. By this light,
 'Tis a braue Gentleman.

Med. How like a block 190
 The Emperor fits?

Her. He hath deliuer'd reafons,
 Especially in his purpose to enrich
 Such as fought brauely (I my felfe am one,
 I care not who knowes it) as, I wonder, that
 He can be fo stupid. Now he begins to stirre, 195
 Mercie an't be thy will.

Charl. Thou haft fo farre
 Outgone my expectation, noble *Sforza*
 (For fuch I hold thee) And true confurance,
 Rais'd on a braue foundation, beares fuch palme,
 And priuiledge with it; That where we behold it, 200
 Though in an enemie, it does command vs
 To loue and honour it. By my future hopes,
 I am glad, for thy fake, that in feeking fauour,
 Thou did't not borrow of vice her indirect,
 Crooked, and abiect meanes: And for mine owne, 205
 (That fince my purpofes muft now be chang'd
 Touching thy life and fortunes) the world cannot

G

III, 1, 191 reasons] M, reason.

III, 1, 194-5. See note.

Taxe me of leuitie, in my fetled counceles ;
 I being neither wrought by tempting bribes,
 Nor feruile flatterie ; but forc'd vnto it, 210
 By a faire warre of vertue.

Hern. This founds well.

Charl. All former passages of hate be buried ;
 For thus with open armes I meete thy loue,
 And as a friend embrace it : And so farre
 I am from robbing thee of the least honor, 215
 That with my hands, to make it fit the faster,
 I set thy Crowne once more vpon thy head :
 And does not only stile thee, Duke of Millaine,
 But vow to keepe thee so : Yet not to take
 From others to giue only to my selfe, 220
 I will not hinder your magnificence
 To my Commanders, neither will I vrge it,
 But in that, as in all things else I leaue you
 To be your owne disposer. *Florish.* *Ex[it] Charl[es &c.]*

Sf. May I liue
 To feale my loyaltie, though with losse of life 225
 In some braue seruice worthy *Caesars* f[a]uor,
 And I shall dye most happy. Gentlemen,
 Receiue me to your loues, and if henceforth
 There can arise a difference betweene vs,
 It shall be in a Noble emulation, 230
 Who hath the fairest Sword, or dare go farthest,
 To fight for Charles the Emperour ?

Hern. We embrace you,
 As one well read in all the points of honor,
 And there we are your Schollers.

Sf. True, but such 235
 As farre out-ftrip the Master ; we'le contend
 In loue hereafter, in the meane time pray you,
 Let me discharge my debt, and as in earnest
 Of what's to come, deuide this Cabnet :
 In the small body of it there are Iewels,

III, 1, 210 unto] G, into.

III, 1, 220 my selfe] C M, thyself.

III, 1, 226 fovor] Q, C M G, favour.

III, 1, 237 in] G, an.

Will yeeld a hundred thousand Piftolets, 240
Which honor me to receiue.

Med. You bind vs to you.

Sf. And when great *Charles* comands me to his prefence,
If you will please to excufe my abrupt departure,
Designes that moft concerne me next this mercie,
Calling me home, I fhall hereafter meete you, 245
And gratifie the fauor.

Her. In this and all things,
We are your Seruants.

Sf. A name I euer owe you.

Ex[eunt] Med[ina] Her[nando and] Alph[onso].

Pefc. So Sir, this tempeft is well ouerblowne,
And all things fall out to our wifhes. But
In my opinion, this quicke returne, 250
Before you haue made a partie in the Court
Among the great ones (for thefe needy Captains
Haue little power in peace) may beget danger,
At leaft fufpition.

Sf. Where true honor liues,
Doubt hath no being, I defire no pawne 255

Beyond an Emperors word for my affurance:
Besides, *Pefcara*, to thy felfe of all men
I will confeffe my weakeneffe, though my State
And Crown's reftored me, though I am in grace
And that a little ftay might be a ftap 260

To greater honors, I muft hence. Alas,
I liue not here, my wife, my wife *Pefcara*,
Being abfent I am dead. Prethe excufe,
And do not chide for freindfhip fake my fondnes
But ride along with me, I'le giue you reafons, 265
And ftrong ones, to plead for me.

Pefc. Vfe your owne pleaſure,
I'le bere you companie.

Sf. Farewell grieſe, I am ftor'd with
Two bleffings moft defir'd in humane life,
A conftant friend, an vnſuſpected wife. [*Exeunt.*]

G₂

III, 1, 246-7 Rearranged with C M G. See note.

III, 1, 262 M omits ſecond "my wife".

III, 1, 264 freindſhip] G, friendſhip's.

III, 1, 269 an] M, and.

Actus Ter[tii,] Scae[na] Secunda.

Enter Graccho, [in charge of an] Officer.

Offc. What I did, I had warrant for; you haue tasted
My Office gently, and for those soft strokes,
Flea bitings to the Ierks I could haue lent you,
There does belong a feeling.

Grac. Muft I pay
For being tormented and dishonor'd?

Off. Fye no, 5
Your honour^[s] not empar'd in't: What's the letting out
Of a little corrupt blood, and the next way too?
There is no Chirurgion like me to take off
A Courtiers Itch that's rampant at great Ladies,
Or turnes knaue for preferment, or growes proud 10
Of their rich Clokes, and Sutes, though got by brokage,
And fo forgets his betters.

Grac. Verie good Sir,
But am I the first man of qualitie,
That e're came vnder your fingers?

Off. Not by a thousand, 15
And they haue said I haue a luckie hand to,
Both men and women of all forts haue bow'd
Vnder this scepter. I haue had a fellow
That could indite forfooth, and make fine meeters
To tinkle in the eares of ignorant Madams,
That for defaming of great Men, was sent me 20
Thredbare and lowfie, and in three dayes after
Discharged by another that fet him on, I haue feene him
Cap a pe gallant, and his stripes wash'd of
With oyle of Angels.

Grac. 'Twas a foueraigne cure,

Off. There was a [Sectarie] to, that would not be 25
Conformable to the Orders of the Church,

III, 2, 7 corrupt] C M, corrupted.

III, 2, 8 chirurgion] G, surgeon.

III, 2, 11 and] Q₂, or.

III, 2, 11 their] G, his.

III, 2, 13 am I] Q₂, I am.

III, 2, 18 meeters] Q₂, meeter.

III, 2, 25 Sectarie] N G, Sectary.

III, 2, 26 To the orders] Q₂, To orders.

Nor yeeld to any argument or reafon,
 But still rayle at authoritie, brought to me,
 When I had worm'd his tongue, and truffed his hanches,
 Grew a fine Pulpet man, and was benefic'd. 30
 Had he not caufe to thanke me?

Grac. There was phifieke
 Was to the purpose.

Off. Now for women,
 For your more confolation, I could tell you
 Twentie fine ftoories, but I'le end in one,
 And 'tis the laft that's memorable.

Grac. Prethe doe, 35
 For I grow wearie of thee.

Off. There was lately
 A fine fhe waiter in the Court, that doted
 Extreamefy of a Gentleman, that had
 His maine dependance on a Signiors fauor
 (I will not name) but could not compaffe him 40
 On any tearmes. This wanton at dead midnight
 Was found at the exercife behind the Arras
 With the 'forefaid Signior; he got cleare off,
 But fhe was feis'd on, and to faue his honor,
 Indur'd the lafh; And though I made her often 45
 Curuet and caper, fhe would neuer tell,
 Who play'd at pufh-pin with her.

Grac. But what follow'd?
 Prethe be briefe.

Off. Why this Sir, fhe deliuered,
 Had ftore of Crownes affign'd her by her patron,
 Who forc'd the Gentleman^[1] to faue her credit, 50
 To marie her, and fay he was the partie
 Found in Lobs pound. So, fhe that before gladly
 Would haue been his whore, raignes o're him as his wife,
 Nor dares he grumble at it. Speake but truth then,
 Is not my Office luckie?

G₃

III, 2, 27 or] Q₂ C M G, of.

III, 2, 31 he not] Q₃, not he.

III, 2, 32 G adds "sir" after "women".

III, 2, 47-8 C M, arrange as one line "But . . . briefe".

- Grac.* Goe, ther's for thee, 55
But what will be my fortune?
- Off.* If you thriue not
After that foft correction, come againe.
- Grac.* I thanke you knaue.
Off. And then knaue, I will fit you.
Ex[it] Officer.
- Grac.* Whipt like a rogue? no lighter punifhment [ferve]
To ballance with a little mirth: 'Tis well, 60
My credit funke for euer, I am now
Fit companie, only for Pages and for foot boyes,
That haue perufed the Porters Lodge. *Enter two Gentlemen.*
- 1. Gentlem.* See *Iulio*,
Yonder the proud flauie is, how he lookes now
After his caftigation?
- 2. Gentlem.* As he came 65
From a clofe fight at Sea vnder the Hatches,
With a she Dunckerke, that was fhoted before
Betweene winde and [water], And he hath fprung a leake too,
Or I'me coufen'd.
- 1. Gentlem.* Lets be merie with him.
Grac. How they ftare at me? am I turn'd to an Owle? 70
The wonder Gentlemen?
- 2. Gentlem.* I read this morning
Strange ftories of the paffiue fortitude
Of men in former ages, which I thought
Impoffible, and not to be beleued.
But now I looke on you, my wonder ceafes. 75
- Grac.* The reafon Sir?
2. Gentlem. Why Sir you haue been whip'd
Whip'd fignior *Graccho*. And the whip I take it,
Is to a Gentleman, the greateft tryall
That may be of his patience.
- Grac.* Sir, I'le call you
To a frickt account for this.
- 2. Gentlem.* I'le not deale with you, 80
[Vnleffe I haue a Beadle for my fecond.]
- III, 2, 59 strive] M G, serve.
III, 2, 63 two Gentlemen] G alters to Iulio and Giovanni throughout.
See note.
III, 2, 68-9 Rearranged with G. See note.
III, 2, 68 weather] G, water.
III, 2, 81. See Introduction, Early Editions, note 1.

And then I'll answere you.

i. Gentlem. Farewell poore *Graccho*. *Ex[eunt] Gentlem[en]*.

Grac. Better and better fstill, If euer wrongs
Could teach a wretch to find the way to vengeance,
Enter Franc[isco] & Seruant.

Hell now inspire me. How, the Lord Protector! 85
My Iudge I thank him. Whether thus in priuate,
I will not see him. [*Stands aside*]

Franc. If I am fought for,
Say I am indispos'd, and will not heare,
Or fuits, or futors.

Seru. But Sir, if the Princes
Enquire, what fhall I answere?

Franc. Say, I am rid 90
Abrode to take the ayre, but by no meanes
Let her know I am in Court.

Seru. So I fhall tell her. *Ex[it] seruant.*

Franc. Within there, Ladies. *Ent[er] a Gentlewoman*

Gentlew. My good Lord, your pleafure?

Franc. Prethe let me begge thy fauor for accesse
To the Dutches.

Gentlew. In good footh my Lord I dare not, 95
She's verie priuate.

Franc. Come ther's gold to buy thee
A new gowne, and a rich one.

Gentlew. [This will tempt me] I once fwore
If e're I loft my maiden-head, it should be
With a great Lord as you are, and I know not how,
I feele a yeelding inclination in me, 100
If you haue appitite.

Franc. Poxe on thy maiden-head,
Where is thy Lady?

Gentlew. If you venter on her,
She's walking in the Gallerie, perhaps
You will find her leffe tractable.

Franc. Bring me to her.

III, 2, 90 rid] C M, rode.

III, 2, 97. See note.

Gentlew. I feare you'l haue cold entertainment, when 105
 You are at your iourneys end, and 'twere difcretion
 To take a fnatch by the way.

Franc. Prethe leaue fooling,
 My page waites in the lobbie, giue him fweet meats,
 He is trayn'd vp for his Mafters eafe,
 And he will coole thee. *Ex[eunt] Franc[isco] & Gentl[e]w[oman].*

Grac. [comes forward] A braue difcouerie beyond my hope, 110
 A plot euen offer'd to my hand to worke on,
 If I am dull now, may I liue and dye
 The fcorne of wormes & flaues, let me confider,
 My Lady and her Mother firft committed
 In the fauor of the Dutches, and I whip'd, 115
 That with an Iron pen is writ in braffe
 On my tough hart, now growne a harder mettall,
 And all his brib'd approches to the Dutches
 To be conceal'd, good, good, This to my Lady,
 Deliuier'd as I'le order it, runs her mad. 120
 But this may proue but courtfhip, let it be
 I care not fo it feed her Iealoufie. *Ex[it].*

Actus Ter[tii,] Scae[na] Ter[tia].

Enter Marcelia, Francifco.

Marc. Beleeue thy teares or oathes? Can it be hop'd,
 After a practice fo abhor'd and horred,
 Repentance e're can find thee?

Franc. Deere Lady,
 Great in your fortune, greater in your goodnes,
 Make a fuperlatiue of excellence, 5
 In being greateft in your fauing mercie.
 I doe confefse, humbly confefse my fault,
 To be beyond all pittie; my attempt,
 So barberoufly rude, that it would turne
 A faint-like patience, into fauage furie: 10

III, 3, 3 Deere] G, Dearest.

But you that are all innocence and vertue,
 No spleane or anger in you of a woman,
 But when a holy zeale to pietie fires you,
 May, if you please, impute the fault to loue,
 Or call it beastly luft, for 'tis no better, 15
 A finne, a monstrous finne, yet with it, many
 That did proue good men after, haue bin tēpted,
 And thogh I am croked now, 'tis in your powre
 To make me straight againe.

Marc. [*aside*] Is't possible
 This can be cunning?

Franc. But if no submission, 20
 Nor prayers can appease you, that you may know,
 'Tis not the feare of death that makes me sue thus,
 But a loathed detestation of my madnesse,
 Which makes me wish to liue to haue your pardon [;]
 I will not waite the sentence of the Duke 25
 (Since his returne is doubtfull) but I my selfe
 Will doe a fearefull iustice on my selfe,
 No witness by but you, there being no more
 When I offended: yet before I doe it,
 For I perceiue in you no signes of mercie, 30
 I will disclose a secret, which dying with me,
 May proue your ruine.

Marc. Speake it, it will take from
 The burthen of thy conscience.

Franc. Thus then Madam,
 The warrant by my Lord sign'd for your death,
 Was but conditionall, but you must sweare 35
 By your vnspotted truth, not to reueale it,
 Or I end here abruptly.

Marc. By my hopes
 Of ioyes hereafter, on.

Franc. Nor was it hate
 That forc'd him to it, but excesse of loue

H

III, 3, 12 or] Q₂, nor.

III, 3, 22 Q₂ omits "that".

And if I [ne're] returne, fo said great Sforza, 40
 No liuing man deferuing to enioy
 My best Marcelia[, w]ith the first newes
 That I am dead, for no man after me
 [Muft] e're enioy her, [f]aile not to kill her[.]
 But till certaine prooffe 45
 Affure thee I am loft (these were his words)
 Obserue and honor her as if the [foule]
 Of womans goodneffe only dwelt in hers.
 This trust I haue abus'd and basely wrong'd,
 And if the excellling pittie of your mind 50
 Cannot forgiue it, as I dare not hope it,
 Rather then looke on my offended Lord,
 I stand resolu'd to punish it. [*Draws sword.*]
Marc. Hold, 'tis forgiuen,
 And by me freely pardned. In thy faire life
 Hereafter studie to deferue this bountie 55
 [Which] thy true penitence (such I beleue it)
 Against my resolution hath forc'd from me,
 But that my Lord, my Sforza should esteeme,
 My life fit only as a page, to waite on
 The various courfe of his vncertaine fortunes, 60
 Or cherish in himfelfe that sensuall hope
 In death to know me as a wife, afflicts me,
 Nor does his enuie lesse deferue my anger,
 Which though such is my loue, I would not nourish,
 Will flack the ardor that I had to see him 65
 Returne in safetie.
Franc. But if your entertainment
 Should giue the least ground to his ienaloufie,
 To raise vp an opinion I am false,
 You then distroy your mercie. Therefore Madam
 (Though I shall euer looke on you as on 70
 My liues preferuer, and the miracle
 Of human pittie) would you but vouchsafe,
 In companie to doe me those faire graces

III, 3, 40 e're] C M G, ne'er.

III, 3, 44 Might] G, Must.

III, 3, 44-5. See notes.

III, 3, 47 seale] N G, soul.

III, 3, 48 hers] C M, her.

III, 3, 56 With] C M G, Which.

III, 3, 63 my] Q₂ C M G, mine.

Marc. Sir, I am moft happie 100
 To looke vpon you fafe, and would exprefse
 My loue and duty in a modeft fation,
 Such as might fute with the behaiour
 Of one that knowes her felfe a wife, and how
 To temper her defires, not like a wanton 105
 Fierd with hot appetite, nor can it wrong me
 To loue difcreetly.

Sf. How, why can there be
 A meane in your affections to *Sforza*?
 Or any act though neare fo loofe that may
 Inuite or heighten appetite, appeare 110
 Immodeft or vncomly. Doe not moue me,
 My paffions to you are in extreames,
 And know no bounds, come kiffe me.

Marc. I obey you.

Sf. By all the ioyes of loue, fhe does falute me
 As if I were her grand-father. What witch, 115
 With curfed fpels hath quench'd the amorous heat
 That liued vpon thefe lips? Tell me *Marcellia*,
 And truly tell me, is't a fault of mine
 That hath begot this coldneffe, or neglect
 Of others in my abfence?

Marc. Neither Sir, 120
 I ftand indebted to your fubftitute,
 Noble and good *Francifco* for his care,
 And faire obseruance of me: There was nothing
 With which you being prefent could fupply me,
 That I dare fay I wanted.

Sf. How!

Marc. The pleasures 125
 That faced Hymen warrants vs excepted,
 Of which in troth you are too great a doter,
 And there is more of beaft in it then man.
 Let vs loue temperatly, things violent laft not,

And too much dotage rather argues folly
Then true affection. 130

Grac. [*aside to Mariana*] Obeſerue but this,
And how ſhe prays'd my Lords care and obeſeruance,
And then iudge Madam if my intelligence
Haue any ground of truth.

Mari. [*aside to Graccho*] No more, I marke it.

Steph. [*aside to Tiberio*] How the Duke ftands?

Tib. [*aside to Stephano*] As he were routed there, 135
And had no motion.

Pefc. My Lord, from whence
Growes this amazement?

Sf. It is more^[,] deare my friend,
For I am doubtfull whether I haue a being,
But certaine that my lifes a burthen to me,
Take me ba[c]ke good *Pefcara*, ſhow me to *Caefar*, 140
In all his rage and furie I [diſclaime]
His mercie, to liue now which is his guift, |
Is worfe then death, and with all ftudied torments.

Marcellia is vnkind, nay worfe, growne cold
In her affection, my exceſſe of feruor, 145
Which [yet] was neuer equal'd, growne diſtaſtfull.
But haue thy wiſhes woman, thou ſhalt know
That I can be my ſelfe, and thus ſhake off
The fetters of fond dotage. From my fight
Without reply, for I am apt to doe 150

Something I may repent. [*Exit Marcellia*] O, who would place
His happineſſe in moſt accuſed woman,
In whom obeſequiouſneſſe ingenders pride,
And harſhneſſe deadly [hatred]. From this howre
I'le labour to forget there are ſuch creatures; 155
True friends be now my miſtriſſes. Cleere your browes,
And though my heart-ſtrings cracke for't, I will be
To all, a free example of delight:
We will haue ſports of all kinds, and propound

H,

III, 3, 140 ba[c]ke] Q₂ C M G, back.

III, 3, 141 diſclaime] Q₂ C M G, diſclaim.

III, 3, 145 exceſſe] Q₂, access.

III, 3, 146 it] C M G, yet.

III, 3, 154 deadly] N G, deadly hatred.

Rewards to such as can produce vs new. 160
 [Unsatisfied] though we forfeit in their store.
 And neuer thinke of curs'd *Marcelia* more. *Ex[eunt]*.

Actus Quart[i,] Scae[na] Prim[a].

Enter Francisco, Graccho

Franc. And is it possible thou should'st forget
 A wrong of such a nature, and then studie
 My safetie and content?

Grac. Sir, but allow me
 Only to haue read the elements of Courtship
 (Not the abstruse & hidden [arts] to thrive there) 5
 And you may please to grant me so much knowledge,
 That iniuries from one in grace, like you,
 Are noble fauours. Is it not growne common
 In euerie sect, for those that want, to suffer
 From such as haue to giue? Your Captaine cast 10
 If poore, though not thought daring, but approu'd fo[r,]
 To raise a coward into name, that's rich,
 Suffers disgraces publicuely, but receiues
 Rewards for them in priuate.

Franc. Well obseru'd.
 Put on, we'll be familiar, and discourse 15
 A little of this argument. That day,
 In which it was first rumour'd, then confirm'd,
 Great *Sforza* thought me worthy of his fauor,
 I found my selfe to be another thing,
 Not what I was before. I pass'd then 20
 For a prittie fellow, and of prittie parts too,
 And was perhaps receiu'd fo: but once rais'd,
 The liberall Courtier made me Master of
 Those vertues, which I ne're knew in my selfe.
 If I pretended to a iest, 'twas made one 25
 By their interpretation. If I offer'd
 To reason of Philofophy, though absurdly,

III, 3, 161 unsatisfiz'd] Q₂ C M G, unsatisfied.

IV, 1, 5 acts] C M G, arts.

IV, 1, 27 Q₂ omits "of".

They had helps to faue me, and without a blufh
 Would fwear, that I by nature had more knowledge,
 Then others could acquire by any labor. 30
 Nay all I did indeed, which in another
 Was not remarkeable, in me fhew'd rarely.

Grac. But then they tafted of your bountie.

Franc. True,

They gaue me thofe good parts I was not borne too,
 And by my interceffion they got that, 35
 Which (had I crofs'd them) they durft not haue hop'd for.

Grac. All this is Oracle. And fhall I then,
 For a foolifh whipping leaue to honour him,
 That holds the wheele of Fortune? No, that fauors
 Too much of th'antient freedome: Since great men 40
 Receiue difgraces, and giue thanks, poore knaues
 Muft haue nor spleene, nor anger. Though I loue
 My limbes afwell as any man, if you had now
 A humor to kick me lame into an office,
 Where I might fit in State, and vndoe others, 45
 Stood I not bound to kiffe the foot that did it?
 Though it feeme ftrange there haue been fuch things feene
 In the memorie of man.

Franc. But to the purpofe,

And then, that feruice done, make thine owne fortunes.
 My wife, thou fay'ft, is iealous, I am too 50
 Familiar with the Dutches.

Grac. And incens'd

For her commitment in her brothers abfence,
 And by her Mothers anger is fpur'd on
 To make difcouerie of it. This her purpofe
 Was trufted to my charge, which I declin'd 55
 As much as in me lay, but finding her
 Determinately bent to vndertake it,
 Though breaking my faith to her may deftroy
 My credit with your Lordfhip, I yet thought,
 Though at my peril, I ftood bound to reueale it. 60

IV, 1, 34 They] Q₂, the.

IV, 1, 47 haue] Q₂, hath.

Franc. I thanke thy care, and will deferue this secret,
 In making thee acquainted with a greater,
 And of more moment. Come into my bofome,
 And take it from me. Canst thou thinke, dull *Graccho*,
 My power, and honours, were confer'd vpon me, 65
 And ad to them this forme, to haue my pleasures
 Confin'd and limited? I delight in change,
 And fweet varietie, that's my heauen on earth,
 For which I loue life only. I confesse,
 My wife pleas'd me a day, the Dutches, two, 70
 (And yet I muft not fay, I haue enioy'd her)
 But now I care for neither. Therefore *Graccho*,
 So farre I am from ftopping *Mariana*
 In making her complaint, that I defire thee
 To vrge her to it.

Grac. That may proue your ruine, 75
 The Duke alreadie being, as 'tis reported,
 Doubtfull fhe hath play'd falfe.

Franc. There thou art cofen'd,
 His dotage like an ague keeps his courfe,
 And now 'tis ftrongly on him. But I loofe time,
 And therefore know, whether thou wilt or no, 80
 Thou art to be my instrument, and in fpite
 Of the old fawe, that faves, it is not fafe
 On any termes to truft a man that's wrong'd,
 I dare thee to be falfe.

Grac. This is a language
 My Lord, I vnderftand not.

Franc. You thought, firra, 85
 To put a trick on me for the relation
 Of what I knew before, and hauing woon
 Some weightie fecret from me, in reuenge
 To play the traytor. Know thou wretched thing,
 By my command thou wert whip'd, & euery day 90
 I'le haue thee freshly tortur'd, if thou miffe
 In the left charge that I impofe vpon thee,

Though what I speake, for the most part is true,
 Nay, grant thou had'ft a thousand witnesses
 To be depos'd they heard it, 'tis in me 95
 With one word (such is *Sforza's* confidence
 Of my fidelitie not to be shaken)
 To make all void, and ruine my accusers.
 Therefore looke to't, bring my wife hotly on
 T'accuse me to the Duke (I haue an end in't) 100
 Or thinke, what 'tis makes man most miserable,
 And that shall fall vpon thee. Thou wert a foole
 To hope by being acquainted with my courses
 To curbe and awe me, or that I should liue
 Thy flauie, as thou did'ft sawcily diuine. 105
 For prying in my counsels, ftill liue mine.

Ex[it] Franc[ifco].

Grac. I am caught on both sides. This 'tis for a punie
 In Policies *Protean* Schoole, to try conclusions
 With one that hath commenc'd & gon out doctor.
 If I discouer, what but now he bragg'd of, 110
 I shall not be beleeu'd. If I fall off
 From him, his threats and actions go together.
 And ther's no hope of safetie, till I get
 A plummet, that may found his deepest counsels.
 I must obey and serue him. Want of skill 115
 Now makes me play the rogue against my will.

Ex[it] Grac[cho].

Actus Quart[i,] Scae[na] Secund[a].

Enter Marcellia, Tiberio, Stephano, Gentlewoman.

Marc. Command me from his fight, & with such scorne
 As he would rate his flauie.

Tib. 'Twas in his furie.

Steph. And he repents it Madame.

Marc. Was I borne
 To'berue his humors, or, because he dotes,
 Must I run mad?

I

IV, 1, 107 punie] G, puisne.

IV, 1, 112-15 Gifford alters the construction by placing a comma after "together", a period after "safety", a comma after "counsels", and a colon after "him".

Tib. If that your Excellence 5
 Would please but to receive a feeling knowledge
 Of what he suffers, and how deep the least
 Unkindness wounds from you, you would excuse
 His haughty language.

Steph. He hath paid the forfeit
 Of his offence, I'm sure, with such a sorrow, 10
 As, if it had been greater would deserve
 A full remission.

Marc. Why, perhaps he hath it,
 And I stand more afflicted for his absence,
 Then he can be for mine? So pray you, tell him.
 But till I have digested some sad thoughts, 15
 And reconcil'd passions that are at war
 Within my selfe, I purpose to be private.
 And have you care, unless it be *Francisco*,
 That no man be admitted.

[*To Gentlewoman who goes out.*]

Tib. [*aside to Stephano*] How *Francisco*! 20
 [Mistresses,

Steph. [*aside to Tiberio*] He, that at euerie stage keeps liuerie
 The ftallion of the State!

Tib. [*aside to Stephano*] They are things about vs,
 And so no way concerne vs.

Steph. [*aside to Tiberio*] If I were
 The Duke (I freely must confesse my weaknesse)
 Ent[er] *Fra[n]cisco*].

I should weare yellow breeches.. Here he comes.

Tib. Nay spare your labour, Lady, we know our exit, 25
 And quit the roome.

Steph. Is this her privacy?
 Though with the hazard of a check, perhaps,
 This may goe to the Duke. [*Exeunt Tiberio and Stephano.*]

Marc. Your face is full
 Of feares and doubts. The reason?

Franc. O best Madam,
 They are not counterfeit. I your poore conuert, 30
 That only wish to liue in sad repentance,

IV, 2, 25 exit] C M G, Duty.

To mourne my desperate attempt of you,
 That haue no ends, nor aymes, but that your goodneffe
 Might be a witneffe of my penitence,
 Which feene would teach you, how to loue your mercie, 35
 Am robb'd of that laft hope. The Duke, the Duke,
 I more then feare, hath found, that I am guiltie.

Marc. By my vnspotted honor, not from me,
 Nor haue I with him chang'd one fillable
 Since his returne, but what you heard.

Franc. Yet, malice 40
 Is Eagle-ey'd, and would see that which is not.
 And Iealoufie's too apt to build vpon
 Vnfure foundations.

Marc. Iealoufie?

Franc. [*aside*] It takes.

Marc. Who dares but only thinke, I can be tainted?
 But for him, though almost on certaine prooffe, 45
 To giue it hearing, not beleefe, deserues
 My hate for euer.

Franc. Whether grounded on
 Your noble, yet chafte fauors showne vnto me,
 Or her imprifonment, for her contempt
 To you, by my command, my frantique wife 50
 Hath put it in his head.

Marc. Haue I then liu'd
 So long, now to be doubted? Are my fauors
 The theames of her difcourfe? Or what I doe,
 That neuer trode in a fufpected path,
 Subject to bafe conftruction? Be vndanted, 55
 For now, as of a creature that is mine,
 I rife vp your [protectresse]. All the grace
 I hither to haue done you, was bestowed
 With a fhut hand. It fhall be now more free,
 Open, and liberall. But let it not, 60
 Though counterfeited to the life, teach you

To nourish fawcic hopes.

Franc. May I be blasted
When I proue such a monster.

Marc. I will stand, then,
Betweene you, and all danger. He shall know,
Suspition o're-turnes, what confidence builds, 65
And he that dares but doubt, when ther's no ground,
Is neither to himselfe, nor others found.

Ex[it] Marc[elia].

Franc. So, let it worke, her goodnesse, that deny'd,
My seruice branded with the name of Luft,
Shall now deftroy it selfe. And she shall finde, 70
When he's a futor, that brings Cunning arm'd
With power to be his aduocates, the denyall
Is a difeafe as killing as the plague,
And chafitite a clew, that leads to death.
Hold but thy nature, Duke, and be but rash, 75
And violent enough, and then at leasure
Repent. I care not.
And let my plots produce this long'd-for birth,
In my reuenge I haue my heauen on earth.

Ex[it] Franc[isco].

Act[us] Quart[i,] Scae[na] Tert[ia].

Enter Sforza, Pescara, three Gentlemen.

Pesc. You promis'd to be merrie.

1. *Gentlem.* There are pleasures
And of all kinds to entertaine the time.

2. *Gentlem.* Your excellence vouchsafing to make choice
Of that, which best affects you.

Sf. Hold your prating.
Learne manners too, you are rude.

3. *Gentlem.* [*aside*] I haue my answere, 5
Before I ask the question.

Pesc. I must borrow
The priuiledge of a friend, and will, or else

I am, like these, a seruant, or what's worfe,
A parasite to the sorrow, *Sforza* worships
In spite of reason.

Sf. Pray you vie your freedome, 10
And so farre, if you please, allow me mine,
To heare you only, not to be compel'd
To take your morall potions. I am a man,
And thogh philofophy your mistriffe rage for't,
Now I haue cause to grieue, I must be sad, 15
And I dare shew it.

Pesc. Would it were bestow'd
Vpon a worthier subiect.

Sf. Take heed, friend.
You rub a sore, whose paine will make me mad,
And I shall then forget my selfe and you.
Lance it no further.

Pesc. Haue you stood the shock 20
Of thousand enemies, and out-fac'd the anger
Of a great Emperor, that vowed your ruine,
Though by a desperate, a glorious way,
That had no president? Are you return'd with honor,
Lou'd by your subiects? Does your fortune court you, 25
Or rather say, your courage does command it?
Haue you giu'n prooffe to this houre of your life,
Prosperitie (that searches the best temper)
Could neuer puffe you vp nor aduerse fate
Deiect your valor? Shall I say, these vertues, 30
So many and so various trials of
Your constant mind, be buried in the frowne
(To please you I will say so) of a faire woman?
Yet I haue seene her equals.

Sf. Good *Pescara*,
This language in another were prophane, 35
In you it is vnmanly. Her equall?
I tell you as a friend, and tell you plainly

(To all men else, my Sword should make reply[]]
 Her goodnesse does disdaine comparifon,
 And but her selfe admits no paralell. 40
 But you will say she's croffe, 'tis fit she should be
 When I am foolish, for she's wife, *Pescara*,
 And knows how farre she may dispose her bounties,
 Her honour safe: or if she were auerfe,
 'Twas a preuention of a greater sinne 45
 Readie to fall vpon me, for she's not ignorant
 But truly vnderstands how much I loue her,
 And that her rare parts doe deserue all honour,
 Her excellence increasng with her yeeres to,
 I might haue falne into Idolatry, 50
 And from the admiration of her worth,
 Bin taught to think there is no power about her,
 And yet I doe beleeeue, had Angels sexes,
 The most would be such women, and assume
 No other shape, when they were to appeare 55
 In their full glorie.

Pesc. Well Sir, I'll not croffe you,
 Nor labour to diminish your esteeme
 Hereafter of her, since your happinesse
 (As you will haue it) has alone dependance
 Vpon her fauour, from my Soule, I wish you 60
 A faire attonement.

Ent[er] Tib[erio] & Steph[ano].

Sf. Time, and my submission
 May worke her to it. O! you are well return'd,
 Say, am I blest? hath she vouchsaf'd to heare you?
 Is there hope left that she may be appeas'd?
 Let her propound, and gladly I'll subscribe 65
 To her conditions.

Tib. She Sir, yet is froward,
 And desires respite, and some priuacie.

Steph. She was harsh at first, but ere we parted, seem'd not
 Implacable.

Sf. Ther's comfort yet, I'le ply her
 Each houre with new Embaffadors of more honors, 70
 Titles, and eminence. My fecond felfe
Francifco, fhall folicit her.

Steph. [*mutters aside*] That a wife man,
 And what is more, a Prince, that may command,
 Should fue thus poorely, and treat with his wife,
 As fhe were a victorious enemye, 75
 At whose proud feet, himfelfe, his State, and Countrey,
 Bafely beg'd mercie.

Sf. What is that you mutter?
 I'le haue thy thoughts.

Steph. You fhall, you are too fond,
 And feed a pride that's fwolne too bigge alreadie,
 And furfeits with oberuance.

Sf. O my patience! 80
 My vaffall fpeake thus?

Steph. Let my head anfwere it
 If I offend. She that you thinke a Saint,
 I feare may play the Diuel.

Pefc. [*aside*] Well faid old fellow.

Steph. And he that hath fo long ingrofs'd your fauours,
 Though to be nam'd with reuerence, Lord *Francifco*, 85
 Who as you purpofe, fhall follicite for you,
 I think's too neere her.

[*Sforza draws his sword.*]

Pefc. Hold Sir, this is madneffe.

Steph. It may be thy conferre of [*iointing*] Lordfhips,
 I'me fure he's priuate with her.

Sf. Let me goe,
 I fcorne to touch him, he deferues my pittie, 90
 And not my anger, dotard, and to be one
 Is thy protection, els thou durft not thinke
 That loue to my *Marcella* hath left roome
 In my full heart for any Iealous thought,
 That idle paffion dwell with thick-skind Tradef-men, 95

IV, 3, 88 winning] N G, joining.

IV, 3, 95 thick-skind] C M, thick-scul'd.

The vnderferuing Lord, or the vnable,
 Lock vp thy owne wife foole, that muft take phyficke
 From her young Doctor [phyficke] vpon her backe
 Because thou haft the palfey in that part
 That makes her actiue, I could fmile to thinke 100
 What wretched things they are that dare be iealous,
 Were I match'd to another *Meffaline*,
 While I found merit in my felfe to please her :
 I fhould beleeeue her chaft, and would not feeke
 To find out my owne torment, but alas, 105
 Inioying one that but to me's a Di[a]n,
 I'me too fecure.

Tib. [*aside*] This is a confidence
 Beyond example.

Ent[er] Grac[cho,] Ifab[ella,] Mar[iana].

Grac. There he is, now fpeake,
 Or be for euer filent.

Sf. If you come
 To bring me comfort, fay, that you haue made 110
 My peace with my *Marcellia*.

Ifab. I had rather
 Waite on you to your funerall.

Sf. You are my mother,
 Or by her life you were dead elfe.

Mar. Would you were,
 To your difhonor, and fince dotage makes you
 Wilfully blind, borrow of me my eyes, 115
 Or fome part of my fpirit. Are you all flefh?
 A [lumpe] of patience only? No fire in you?

But doe your pleafure, here your Mother was
 Committed by your feruant (for I fcorne
 To call him husband) and my felfe your fifter, 120
 If that you dare remember fuch a name,
 Mew'd vp to make the way open and free
 For the Adultrefse, I am vnwilling
 To fay a part of *Sforza*.

IV, 3, 98 Doctor —— vpon] C M, supply "and", N G, supply "phy-
 sicke".

IV, 3, 106 Dion] Q₂ C M G, Dian.

IV, 3, 117 limbe] N G, lump.

Sf. Take her head off,
She hath blaſphem'd, and by our Law muſt dye. 125

Ifab. Blaſphem'd, for calling of a whore, a whore?

Sf. O hell, what doe I ſuffer?

Mar. Or is it treaſon

For me that am a ſubiect, to endeouour
To faue the honour of the Duke, and that
He ſhould not be a Wittall on record. 130

For by poſteri[ti]e 'twill be beleeu'd
As certainly as now it can be prou'd,
Franciſco the grea[t] Minion, that fwayes all,
To meet the chaſt embraces of the Dutches,
Hath leap'd into her bed.

Sf. Some proofs vile creature,
Or thou haſt ſpoke thy laſt. 135

Mar. The publique fame,
Their hourelly priuate meetings, and euen now
When vnder a pretence of grieſe or anger,
You are deny'd the ioyes due to a husband,
And made a ſtranger to her, at all times 140
The dore ſtands open to him. To a Dutchman
This were enough, but to a right Italian,
A hundred thouſand witneſſes.

Ifab. Would you
Haue vs to be her bawdes?

Sf. O the mallice
And enuie of baſe women, that with horror 145
Knowing their owne defects and inward guilt,
Dare lye, and ſweare, and damne, for what's moſt falſe,
To caſt aſperſions vpon one vntainted,

Y'are in your natures deuils, and your ends
Knowing your reputation funke for euer, 150
And not to be recouer'd, to haue all,
Weare your blacke liuerie. Wretches, you haue rays'd
A Monumentall trophy to her pureneſſe,

K

IV, 3, 131 poſterie] Q₂ C M G, poſterity.

IV, 3, 133 gear] Q₂ C M G, great.

IV, 3, 150 reputation] C M, reputations.

In this your studied purpose to deprave her,
 And all the shot made by your foule detraction 155
 Falling vpon her sure-arm'd Innocence,
 Return's vpon your felues, and if my loue
 Could suffer an addition, I'me so farre
 From giuing credit to you, this would teach me
 More to admire & serue her, you are not worthy 160
 To fall as sacrifices to appease her,
 And therefore liue till your own enuy burft you.
Ifab. All is in vaine, he is not to be mou'd.
Mar. She has bewitcht him.
Pesc. 'Tis so past beliefe,
 To me it shewes a fable.

Ent[er] Fran[cisco] & a seruant.
Franc. On thy life 165
 Prouide my horses, and without the Port
 With care attend me.
Seru. I fhall my Lord.

Ex[it] seru[ant.]
Grac. [aside] He's come.
 What [gim]cracke haue we next?
Franc. Great Sir.
Sf. *Francisco,*
 Though all the ioyes in woman are fled from me
 In thee I doe embrace the full delight 170
 That I can hope from man.

Franc. I would impart,
 Please you to lend your eare, a waightie secret,
 I am in labour to deliuer to you.
Sf. All leaue the roome,
[Exeunt Isabella, Mariana, and Graccho.]
[to Pescara] excuse me good *Pesc[ara]*.

Ere long I will waite on you.
Pesc. You speake Sir 175
 The language I should vse. *[Exit.]*
Sf. [to Tiberio and Stephano.] Be within call,
 Perhaps we may haue vse of you.

Tib. We fhall Sir.
[Exeunt Tiberio and Stephano.]
Sf. Say on my comfort.

IV, 3, 168 What —— cracke] C M N G, insert "gim".

IV, 3, 169 woman] C, women.

IV, 3, 174 Pesc.] Q, C M G, Pescara.

Franc. Comfort? No, your torment,
For so my fate appoints me, I could curse
The houre that gaue me being.

Sf. What new monfters 180
Of miferie ftand readie to deuoure me?
Let them at once difpatch me.

Franc. Draw your fword then,
And as you wifh your own peace, quickly kil me,
Confider not, but doe it.

Sf. Art thou mad?

Franc. Or if to take my life be too much mercy, 185
As death indeed concludes all human forrowes,
Cut off my nofe and eares, pull out an eye,
The other only left to lend me light

To fee my owne deformities: Why was I borne
Without fome mulct impos'd on me by nature? 190

Would from my youth a lothfome leprofie
Had runne vpon this face, or that my breath
Had been infectious, and fo made me fhun'd
Of all focieties: curs'd be he that taught me

Difcource or manners, or lent any grace 195
That makes the owner pleafing in the eye

Of wanton women, fince thofe parts which others
Value as bleffings, are to me afflictions,
Such my condition is.

Sf. I am on the racke,
Diffolue this doubtfull riddle.

Franc. That I alone 200
Of all mankind that ftand moft bound to loue you,
And ftudie your content fhould be appointed,

Not by my will, but forc'd by cruell fate
To be your greateft enimie, not to hold you
In this amazement longer, in a word, 205
Your Dutches loues me.

Sf. Loues thee?

- Franc.* Is mad for me,
Pursues me hourly.
- Sf.* Oh!
- Franc.* And from hence grew
Her late neglect of you.
- Sf.* O women! women!
- Franc.* I labour'd, to diuert her by perswasion,
Then vrg'd your much loue to her, & the danger, 210
Denyd her, and with scorne.
- Sf.* 'Twas like thy selfe.
- Franc.* But when I saw her smile, then heard her say,
Your loue and extreme dotage as a Cloke
Should couer our embraces, and your power
Fright others from suspition, and all fauours 215
That should preferue her in her innocence,
By lust inuerted to be vs'd as bawdes,
I could not but in dutie (though I know
That the relation kills in you all hope
Of peace hereafter, and in me 'twill shew 220
Both base and poore to rise vp her accuser)
Freely discouer it.
- Sf.* Eternall plagues
Pursue and ouertake her, for her sake
To all posteritie may he proue a Cuckold,
And like to me a thing so miserable 225
As words may not expresse him, that giues trust
To all deceiuing women, or since it is
The will of Heauen to preferue mankind,
That we must know, & couple with these serpents,
No wiseman euer taught by my example 230
Hereafter vse his wife with more respect
Then he would doe his Horfe that do's him seruice,
Base woman being in her creation made
A flauie to man, but like a village nurse
Stand I now curfing, and confidering when 235

The tameſt foole would doe? Within there, *Stephano*,
Tiberio, and the reſt, I will be ſuddaine,
 And ſhe ſhall know and feele loue in extreames,
 Abus'd knowes no degree in hate.

Ent[er] Tib[erio] Steph[hano and] Guard.

Tib. My Lord.

Sf. Goe to the Chamber of that wicked woman. 240

Steph. What wicked woman, Sir?

Sf. The deuill my wife.

Force a rude entry, and if ſhe reſuſe
 To follow you, drag her hither by the hayre
 And know no pittie, any gentle vſage
 To her will call on cruelty from me 245
 To ſuch as ſhew it, Stand you ſtaring! Goe,
 And put my will in act.

Steph. Ther's no diſputing.

Tib. But 'tis a tempeſt on the ſuddaine rays'd,
 Who durſt haue dreamt of?

Ex[eunt] Tib[erio] Steph[ano and] Guards.]

Sf. Nay, ſince ſhe dares damnation,
 I'll be a furie to her.

Franc. Yet great Sir, 250
 Exceed not in your furie, ſhe's yet guiltie
 Only in her intent.

Sf. Intent *Franciſco*?
 It does include all fact, and I might ſooner
 Be won to pardon treaſon to my Crowne,
 Or one that kil'd my Father.

Franc. You are wife, 255
 And know what's beſt to doe, yet if you pleaſe
 To proue her temper to the height, ſay only
 That I am dead, and then obſerue how farre
 She'll be tranſported. I'll remoue a little,
 But be within your call: now to the vſphot, 260
 How e're I'll ſhift for one.

Ex[it] Franc[ifco].

Enter Tiberio, Stephano, Marcelia, Guard.

Marc. [*as ſhe comes in*] Where is this Monſter?

IV, 3, 239 in] Q: C M, of.

This walking tree of Iealoufie, this dreamer,
 This horned beaft that would be? O are you here Sir?
 Is it by your commandement or allowance,
 I am thus bafely vs'd? Which of my vertues, 265
 My labours, feruices, and cares to please you
 (For to a man fufpicious and vnthankfull,
 Without a blufh I may be mine owne trumpet)
 Inuites this barbarous courfe? Dare you looke on me
 Without a feale of flame?

Sf. Impudence, 270
 How vgly thou appear'ft now? Thy intent
 To be a whore, leaues thee not blood enough
 To make an honeft blufh, what had the act done?

Marc. Return'd thee the difhonor thou deserueft
 Though willingly I had giuen vp my felfe 275
 To euerie common letcher.

Sf. Your chiefe minion,
 Your chofen fauourite, your woo'd *Francifco*,
 Has deerely pay'd for't, for wretch, know he's dead,
 And by my hand.

Marc. The bloodyer villaine thou,
 But 'tis not to be wonder'd at, thy loue 280
 Do's know no other obiect, thou haft kil'd then
 A man I doe profefse I lou'd, a man
 For whom a thoufand Queenes might well be riuals,
 But he (I fpeake it to thy teeth) that dares be
 A Iealous foole, dares be a murtherer, 285
 And knowes no end in mifchiefe.

Sf. I begin now *ftabs her.*
 In this my Iuftice.

Marc. Oh, I haue fool'd my felfe
 Into my graue, and only grieue for that
 Which when you know, you haue flaine an Innocent
 You needs muft fuffer.

Sf. An Innocent? Let one 290

IV, 3, 266 cares] Q₂, care.

Call in *Francifco*, [*Ex(it) Steph(ano)*] for he liues (vile creature)
 To iustifie thy falshood, and how often
 With whorish flatteries thou hast tempted him,
 I being only fit to liue a stale,
 A bawd and propertie to your wantonneffe. 295

Ent[er] Steph[ano].

Steph. Signior *Francifco* Sir, but euen now
 Tooke horse without the Ports.

Marc. We are both abus'd,
 And both by him vndone, stay^[1] death^[1] a little
 Till I haue cleer'd me to my Lord, and then
 I willingly obey thee. O my *Sforza*, 300
Francifco was not tempted, but the Tempter,
 And as he thought to win me shew'd the warrant
 That you sign'd for my death.

Sf. Then I beleue thee,
 Beleeue thee innocent too.

Marc. But being contemn'd,
 Vpon his knees with teares he did beseech me 305
 Not to reueale it, I soft-hearted foole
 Iudging his penitence true, was won vnto it.
 Indeed the vnkindneffe to be sentenc'd by you
 Before that I was guiltie in a thought,
 Made me put on a seeming anger towards you, 310
 And now behold the iffue; as I do,
 May heauen forgiue you. *dyes.*

Tib. Her sweet foule has left
 Her beauteous prifon.

Steph. Looke to the Duke, he stands
 As if he wanted motion.

Tib. Griefe hath stopt
 The organ of his speech.

Steph. Take vp this body 315
 And call for his Phyfitians.

Sf. O my heart-ftrings.

[Exeunt omnes with body]

IV, 3, 299 me to] Q₂ C M, my self unto.

Actus Quint[i] Scae[na Prima].

Enter Francisco, [and] Eugenia [in male attire].

Franc. Why could'ft thou thinke *Eugenia* that rewards,
 Graces, or fauours though ftrew'd thick vpon me
 Could euer bribe me to forget mine honour?
 Or that I tamely would fit downe, before
 I had dry'd thefe eyes ftill wet with ftowers of teares 5
 By the fire of my reuenge? Looke vp my deereft
 For that proud-faire that thiefe-like ftrep'd betweene
 Thy promis'd hopes, and rob'd thee of a fortune
 Almoft in thy poffeffion, hath found
 With horrid prooffe, his loue ſhe thought her glorie 10
 And affurance of all happineffe,
 But haft'ned her fad ruine.

Eug. Doe not flatter
 A grieffe that is beneath it, for how euer
 The credulous Duke to me proued falſe & cruel,
 It is impoſible he could be wrought 15
 To looke on her, but with the eyes of dotage,
 And fo to ferue her.

Franc. Such indeed I grant
 The ftream of his affection was, and ran
 A conftant courſe, till I with cunning malice
 (And yet I wrong my act, for it was Iuſtice) 20
 Made it turne back-wards, and hate in extreames
 Loue baniſh'd from his heart to fill the roome,
 In a word, know the faire *Marcellia's* dead.

Eug. Dead!

Franc. And by *Sforza's* hand, do's it not moue you?
 How coldly you receiue it? I expected 25
 The meere relation of fo great a bleſſing
 Borne proudly on the wings of ſweet reuenge
 Would haue cal'd on a ſacrifice of thanks,

V, 1, Heading, Prim.] Q₂, Quint.

V, 1, 11 and assurance] C M G, and an assurance.

V, 1, 21 back-wards] C M G, backward.

V, 1, 23 C M, omit "the".

And ioy not be bound'd or conceal'd
 You entertaine it with a looke, as if
 You wifh'd it were vndone! 30

Eug. Indeed I doe,
 For if my sorrowes could receiue addition,
 Her sad fate would encrease, not lessen 'em.
 She neuer iniur'd me, but entertain'd
 A fortune humbly offer'd to her hand, 35
 Which a wife Lady gladly would haue kneel'd for.
 Vnlesse you would impute it as a crime,
 She was more faire then I, and had difcretion
 Not to deliuer vp her virgin fort
 (Though straight belieg'd with flatteries, vowes, & teares) 40
 Vntill the Church had made it safe & lawfull.
 And had I been the miftris of her iudgement
 And constant temper, skilfull in the knowledge
 Of mans malitious falshood, I had neuer
 Vpon his hell-deepe oathes to marrie me, 45
 Giuen vp my faire name, and my mayden honor
 To his foule lust, nor liu'd now being branded
 In the forehead for his whore, the scorne & shame
 Of all good women.

Franc. Haue you then no gall,
 Anger, or spleene familiar to your sexe? 50
 Or is it possible that you could see
 Another to possesse what was your due,
 And not growe pale with enuie?

Eug. Yes of him
 That did deceiue me. Ther's no passion that
 A maid so iniur'd euer could partake of 55
 But I haue deerely suffer'd. These three yeeres
 In my desire, and labour of reuenge,
 Trufted to you, I haue indur'd the throes
 Of teeming women, and will hazard all
 Fate can inflict on me but I will reache 60

Thy heart false *Sforza*. You haue trifled with me
 And not proceeded with that fiery zeale
 I look'd for from a brother of your spirit.
 Sorrow forsake me, and all signes of griefe
 Farewell for euer; Vengeance arm'd with furie
 Possesse me wholly now. 65

Franc. The reason sifter
 Of this strange metamorphosis?

Eug. Aske thy feares,
 Thy base vnmanly feares, thy poore delays,
 Thy dull forgetfullnesse equall with death,
 My wrong else, and the scandall which can neuer 70
 Be wash'd off from our house but in his blood,
 Would haue stirr'd vp a coward to a deed
 In which, though he had false, the braue intent
 Had crown'd it selfe with a faire monument
 Of noble resolution. In this shape 75
 I hope to get acceffe, and then with shame
 Hearing my sodaine execution, iudge
 What honor thou hast lost in being transcended
 By a weake woman.

Franc. Still mine owne, and dearer,
 And yet in this you but poure oyle on fire, 80
 And offer your assistance where it needs not,
 And that you may perceiue I lay not fallow,
 But had your wrongs stamp'd deeply on my hart
 By the Yron pen of vengeance, I attempted
 By whoring her to cuckold him, that failing 85
 I did begin his tragedie in her death,
 To which it seru'd as Prologue, and will make
 A memorable storie of your fortunes
 In my assur'd reuenge, only best sifter
 Let vs not loose our selues in the performance, 90
 By your rash vndertaking, we will be
 As suddaine as you could wish.

V, 1, 62 and not] M, and nor.

- Eug.* Vpon those termes
I yeeld my felfe and cause to be difpos'd of
As you thinke fit. *Ent[er a] feruant*
- Franc.* Thy purpose?
- Seru.* Ther's one *Graccho*
That follow'd you it feemes vpon the tract, 95
Since you left Millaine, that's importunate
To haue acceffe, and will not be deni'd,
His haft he faies concernes you.
- Franc.* Bring him to me, *Ex[it] feruant*
Though he hath lay'd an ambush for my life,
Or apprehension, yet I will preuent him 100
And worke mine own ends out. *Ent[er] Grac[cho].*
- Grac.* [*aside*] Now for my whipping,
And if I now out-ftrip him not, and catch him,
And by a new and ftrange way to, hereafter
I'le fweare there are wormes in my braines.
- Franc.* Now my good *Graccho*,
We meet as 'twere by miracle.
- Grac.* Loue, and dutie, 105
And vigilance in me for my Lords safetie,
Firft taught me to imagine you were here,
And then to follow you. Al's come forth my Lord
That you could wifh conceal'd. The Dutcheffe wound
In the Dukes rage put home, yet gaue her leaue 110
To acquaint him with your practifes, which your flight
Did eafily confirme.
- Franc.* This I expected,
But fure you come prouided of good counfaile
To helpe in my extreames.
- Grac.* I would not hurt you.
- Franc.* How? hurt me? Such another word's thy death, 115
Why dar'ft thou thinke it can fall in thy will,
T'outliue what I determine?
- Grac.* [*aside*] How he awes me?

Franc. Be briefe, what brought thee hither?

Grac. Care to informe you,
You are a condemn'd man, pursu'd, and fought for,
And your head rated at ten thousand Ducates 120
To him that brings it.

Franc. Very good.

Grac. All passages
Are intercepted, and choyce troopes of horse
Scoure o're the neighbour plaines, your picture sent
To euerie State confederate with Millaine,
That though I grieue to speake it, in my iudgement 125
So thicke your dangers meet, and run vpon you,
It is impossible you should escape
Their curious search.

Eug. Why let vs then turne Romanes,
And falling by our owne hands, mocke their threats,
And dreadfull preparations.

Franc. 'Twould shew nobly, 130
But that the honour of our full reuenge
Were lost in the rash action: No *Eugenia*,
Graccho is wise, my friend to, not my seruant,
And I dare trust him with my latest secret.
We would (and thou must helpe vs to performe it) 135
First kill the Duke, then fall what can vpon vs,
For iniuries are writ in brasse, kind *Graccho*,
And not to be forgotten.

Grac. He instructs me
What I should doe.

Franc. What's that?

Grac. I labour with
A strong desire t'afflict you with my seruice, 140
And now I am deliuer'd of't.

Franc. [*aside to Eugenia*] I tould you.
Speake my oraculous *Graccho*.

Grac. I haue heard Sir,

V, 1, 128 Q₂ omits then.

Of men in debt, that layd for by their creditors
 (In all fuch places where it could be thought
 They would take shelter) chofe for fanctuarie, 145
 Their lodgings vnderneath their creditors nofes,
 Or neere that prifon to which they were defign'd
 If apprehended, confident that there
 They neuer fhould be fought for.

Eug. 'Tis a ftrange one!

Franc. But what inferre you from it?

Grac. This my Lord, 150
 That fince all wayes of your efcape are ftop'd,
 In Millaine only, or what's more, i'the Court
 (Whether it is prefum'd you dare not come)
 Conceal'd in fome difguife you may liue fafe.

Franc. And not to be difcouered?

Grac. But by my felfe. 155

Franc. By thee? Alas I know thee honeft_[1] *Graccho*.

And I will put thy counfell into act,
 And fuddainly. Yet not to be vngratefull
 For all thy louing trauell to preferue me,
 What bloody end foe're my ftarres appoint, 160
 Thou fhalt be fafe good *Graccho*. Who's within there?

Grac. In the deuils name what meanes he?

Ent[er] feruants.

Franc. Take my friend

Into your cuftodie, and bind him faft,
 I would not part with him.

Grac. My good Lord.

Franc. Difpatch, 165
 'Tis for your good to keepe you honeft_[1] *Graccho*,
 I would not haue ten thousand Ducates tempt you
 (Being of a foft and waxe like difpofition)
 To play the traytor, nor a foolifh itch
 To be reueng'd for your late excellent whipping
 Giue you the opportunitie to offer 170
 My head for fatisfaction. Why thou foole,

L₃

V, 1, 145 for] M, far.

V, 1, 162 Q₂ omits "In the deuils name".

I can looke through, & through thee, thy intents
 Appeare to me as written in thy forehead
 In plaine and easie characters. And but that
 I scorne a flaues base blood should ruft that sword 175
 That from a Prince expects a scarlet dye,
 Thou now wert dead, but liue only to pray
 For good succeffe to crowne my vndertakings,
 And then at my returne perhaps I'le free thee
 To make me further sport. Away with him, 180
 I will not heare a fillable.

Ex[eunt] seruants with Grac[cho].
 We must trust

Our selues *Eugenia*, and though we make vie of
 The counsaile of our seruants, that oyle spent,
 Like snuffes that doe offend we tread them out.
 But now to our last Scene, which we'le so carry, 185
 That few shall vnderstand how 'twas begun,
 Till all with halfe an eye may see 'tis don. *Exeunt.*

Actus Quint[i,] Scae[na] Secund[a].

Enter Pescara, Tiberio, Stephano.

Pesc. The like was neuer read of.

Steph. In my iudgement

To all that shall but heare it, 'twill appeare
 A most impossible fable.

Tib. For *Francisco*,

My wonder is the lesse becaufe there are
 Too many Prefidents of vnthankfull men 5
 Rays'd vp to greatnesse, which haue after studied
 The ruine of their makers.

Steph. But that melancholy,

Though ending in distraction, should worke
 So farre vpon a man as to compell him
 To court a thing that has nor fence, nor being, 10
 Is vnto me a miracle.

Pesc. 'Troth I'le tell you,

V, 1, 177 wert] M, were.

V, 2, 1 read] Q₂, heard.

V, 2, 10 nor sence] C M, not sense.

And briefly as I can, by what degrees
 He fell into this madneffe, When by the care
 Of his Phyfitians he was brought to life,
 As he had only pafs'd a fearefull dreame, 15
 And had not acted what I grieue to thinke on,
 He call'd for faire *Marcellia*, and being told
 That ſhe was dead, he broke forth in extreames,
 (I would not ſay blaſphem'd) & cri'd that heauen
 For all th'offences that mankind could doe, 20
 Would neuer be ſo cruell as to rob it
 Of ſo much ſweetneffe, & of ſo much goodneffe,
 That not alone was ſacred in her ſelfe,
 But did preferue all others innocent
 That had but conuerſe with her: Then it came 25
 Into his fancie that ſhe was accus'd
 By his mother & his ſiſter, thrice he curs'd 'em,
 And thrice his deſperate hand was on his ſword
 To haue killd 'em both, but he reſtrayn'd, & they
 Shunning his furie, ſpite of all preuention 30
 He would haue turn'd his rage vpon himſelfe,
 When wifely his Phyfitians looking on
 The Dutches wound, to ſtay his readie hand,
 Cry'd out it was not mortall.

Tib. 'Twas well thought on.

Pefc. He eaſily beleeuing what he wiſh'd, 35
 More then a perpetuitie of pleaſure
 In any obiect elſe, flatter'd by hope
 Forgetting his owne greatneffe, he fell proſtrate
 At the doctors feet, implor'd their ayd, & ſwore,
 Prouided they recouer'd her, he would liue 40
 A priuat man, & they ſhould ſhare his dukedom.
 They ſeem'd to promiſe faire, and euerie houre
 Varie their iudgements as they find his fit
 To ſuffer intermiſſion, or extreames.
 For his behaiour ſince—

Sf. [*within*] As you haue pittie 45
Support her gently.

Pesc. Now be your owne witnesfes,
I am preuented.

*Enter Sforza, Ifab[ella,] Mari[ana,] the body of
Marc[elia,] Doctors, Seruants.*

Sf. Carefully I befeech you,
The gentleſt touch torments her, & then thinke
What I ſhall ſuffer. O you earth[1]y gods,
You ſecond natures, that from your great maſter 50

(Who ioyn'd the limbes of torne *Hyppolytus*,
And drew vpon himſelfe the Thunderers enuie)
Are taught thoſe hidden ſecrets that reſtore
To life death wounded men, You haue a patient
On whom to'xpreſſe the excellence of art, 55

Will bind e'ne heau'n your debtor, though It pleaſes
To make your hands the organs of a worke
The faints will ſmile to looke on, & good Angels
Clap their Celeftiall wings to giue it plaudits. 60

How pale and wan ſhe lookes? O pardon me,
That I preſume dyde o're with bloody guilt,
Which makes me I confeſſe, far, far vnworthy
To touch this ſnow-white hand. How cold it is?
This once was *Cupids* fire-brand, and ſtill 65

'Tis ſo to me. How flow her pulſes beat to?
Yet in this temper ſhe is all perfection,
And Miſtris of a heat ſo full of ſweetneſſe,
The blood of virgins in their pride of youth
Are balles of Snow or Ice compar'd vnto her.

Mar. [*aside to Isabella*] Is not this ſtrange?

Ifab. [*aside to Mariana*] O croſſe him not deere daughter, 70
Our conſcience tells vs we haue been abus'd,
Wrought to accuſe the innocent, and with him
Are guiltie of a fact —!

Ent[er] a ſeruant[, and whiffers Peſcara.]

Mar. [*aside to Isabella*] 'Tis now paſt helpe.

V, 2, 48 gentleſt] Q₂, leaſt.

V, 2, 49 earthy] N G, earthly.

V, 2, 54 death] Q₂, dead.

- Pesc.* [*to servant*] With me? What is he?
Ser. He has a ftrange aspect,
 A Iew by birth, and a Phyfitian 75
 By his profeffion as he faves, who hearing
 Of the Dukes phrenfie, on the forfeit of
 His life will vndertake to render him
 Perfect in euery part. Prouided that
 Your Lordfhips fauour gaine him free acceffe, 80
 And your power with the Duke a fafe protection,
 Till the great worke be ended.
- Pesc.* Bring me to him,
 As I find caufe I'le doe.
- Exe[unt] Pesc[ara] & Ser[uant].*
Sfor. How found fhe fleepes!
 Heauen keepe her from a lethergie; how long
 (But anfwere me with comfort I befeech you.) 85
 Do's your fure iudgement tell you that thefe lids
 That couer richer iewells then themfelues
 Like enuious night will barre thefe glorious funnes
 From fhining on me?
- 1. Doct.* We haue giuen her Sir,
 A fleepy potion that will hold her long, 90
 That fhe may be leffe fenfible of the torment,
 The fearching of her wound will put her to.
- 2. Doct.* Shee now feeles litle, but if we fhould [wake] her,
 To heare her fpeake would fright both vs and you,
 And therefore dare not haften it.
- Sf.* I am patient, 95
 You fee I doe not rage, but waite your pleafore.
 What doe you thinke fhe dreames of now? for fure
 Although her bodies organs are bound faft,
 Her fancy cannot flumber.
- 1. Doct.* That Sir, lookes on
 Your forrow for your late rafh [act] with pittie 100
 Of what you fuffer for it, and prepares
 To meet [the] free confeffion of your guilt

M

V, 2, 93 make] Q₂ C M G, wake.V, 2, 100 art] Q₂ C M G, act.

V, 2, 102 with] M G. the.

With a glad pardon.

[*Sf.*] Shee was euer kind
 And her displeafure though call'd on, fhort liu'de
 Vpon the leaft fubmiffion. O you powers 105
 That can conuey our thoughts to one another
 Without the [aid] of eies, or eares, affift me,
 Let her behold me in a pleafing dreame,
 Thus on my knees before her (yet that duty
 In me is not fufficient) let her fee me 110
 Compell my mother (from whom I [tooke] life)
 And this my fifter, Partner of my being,
 To bow thus low vnto her, let her heare vs
 In my acknowledgement freely confefse
 That we in a degree as high are guilty, 115
 As fhe is innocent; bite your tongues, vile creatures,
 And let your inward horror fright your foules
 For hauing belide that pureneffe, to come neere which
 All women that pofterity can bring forth
 Muft be, though ftriuing to be good, poore Riuals. 120
 And for that dog *Francifco* (that feduc'd me
 In wounding her to raife a temple built
 To Chafititie and fweetneffe) let her know
 I'll follow him to hell, but I will find him,
 And there liue a fourth fury to torment him. 125
 Then for this curfed hand and arme that guided
 The wicked fteele, I'll haue them ioynt by ioynt,
 With burning irons feard of, which I will eate.
 I being a vultur fit to tafte fuch carrion,
 Laftly.

i. Doct. You are too lowd, Sir, you difturbe 130
 Her fweet repofe.

[*Sf.*] I am hufh'd, yet giue vs leaue
 Thus prostrate at her feet, our eies bent downewards,
 Vnworthy, and afham'd to looke vpon her,
 T'expect her gracious fentence.

V, 2, 103 Forza] Q₂ C M G, Sfor. Same change for rest of scene except line 169.

V, 2, 107 end] C M G, aid.

V, 2, 111 looke] Q₂ C M G, took.

V, 2, 132 downewards] C M, downward.

2. *Doct.* Hee's past hope.

1. *Doct.* The body to, will putrifie, and then
We can no longer couer the imposter. 135

Tibe. Which in his death will quickly be discouer'd[.]
I can but weepe his fortune.

Steph. Yet be carefull,
You loofe no minute to preferue him, time,
May lessen his distraction.

*Ent[er] Pefca[ra, with] Fran[cifco, as a Jew doctor,
and] Eugen[ia].*

Franc. I am no God fir. 140
To giue a new life to her, yet I'le hazard
My head, I'le worke the fenceleffe trunke t'appare
To him as it had got a fecond being,
Or that the foule that's fled from't were call'd backe,
To gouerne it againe, I will preferue it 145
In the first sweetneffe, and by a strange vaper
Which I'le infuse into her mouth, create
A seeming breath, I'le make her vaines run high to
As if they had true motion.

Pesc. Doe but this,
Till we vse meanes to win vpon his passions 150
T'indure to heare shee's dead with some small patience
And make thine owne reward.

Franc. The art I vse
Admits no looker on, I only aske
The fourth part of an hower to perfect that
I boldly vndertake.

Pesc. I will procure it. 155

2. *Doct.* What stranger's this?

Pesc. Sooth me in all I say
There is a maine end in't.

Franf. Beware.

Euge. I am warn'd.

Pesc. Looke vp Sir chearefully, comfort in me
Floues stronglie to you.

[*Sf.*] From whence came that found?

M₂

V, 2, 137 his] C M, her.

Was it from my *Marcelia*? if it were 160
I rife and ioy will giue me wings to meet it.

Pef. Nor fhall your expectation be deferrd
But a few minuts, your Phyticians are
Meere voice, and no performance, I haue found
A man that can do wonders, do not hinder 165
The Dutches wifht recouery to inquire,
Or what he is, or to giue thanks, but leaue him
To worke this miracle.

Sf. Sure, 'tis my good Angell,
I do obey in all things; be it death
For any to difturbe him, or come neere 170
Till he be pleafd' to call vs, ô be prosperous
And make a Duke thy Bondman.

Exe[unt] all but Franc[ifco] & Eugenia.
Franc. Tis my pu[r]poie
If that to fall a long wifht facrifice
To my reuenge can be a benefit.
I'll firft make fast the dores, fqe.

Euge. You amaze me 175
What followes now?

Franc. A full conclufion
Of all thy wifhes, looke on this, *Eugenia*,
Eu'n fuch a thing, the proudeft faire on earth
(For whofe delight the elements are ranfack'd
And art with nature studie[d] to preferue her) 180
Muft be when fhe is fummond to appeare
In the Court of death, but I loofe time.

Euge. What meane you?
Franc. Difturbe me not, your Ladifhip lookes pale
But I, your Docter, haue a cerufe for you,
See my *Eugenia*, how many faces 185
That are ador'd in Court borrow thefe helpes,

[*Paints the cheeks*]
And paffe for excellence, when the bette[r] part
Of them are like to this, your mouth fmells foure to,
But here is that fhall take away the fent,

[*Paints the lips*]

V, 2, 172 pupose] Q₂ C M G, purpose.

V, 2, 180 studies] G, studied.

V, 2, 187 bettet] Q₂ C M G, better.

A precious antidote old Ladies vse .190
 When they would kisse, knowing their gummes are rotten:
 These hands to, that disdained' to take a touch

[*Paints the hands*]

From any lip, whose [owner] writ not Lord
 Are now but as the courfett earth, but I
 Am at the charge, my bill not to be paid to_(s) .195
 To giue them seeming beauty, foe tis done
 How do you like my workmanship?

Eugen. I tremble

And thus to tirannize vpon the dead
 Is most inhumane.

Franc. Come we for reuenge,
 And can we thinke on pittie? now to the vphott, .200
 And as it proues applaud it. My lord the Duke
 Enter with ioy, and see the suddaine [change]
 Your seruants hand hath wrought.

Ent[er Sf]orza, and the rest.

[*Sf.*] I liue againe

In my full confidence that *Marcellia* may
 Pronounce my pardon. Can she speake yet?

Franc. No, .205

You must not looke for all your ioyes at once,
 That will aske longer time.

Pesca. Tis wondrous strange!

[*Sf.*] By all the dues of loue I haue had from her,
 This hand feemes as it was when first I kift it,
 These lips inuite to, I could euer feed .210
 Vpon these roses, they still keepe their colour
 And natiue sweetnesse, only the nectar's wanting
 That like the morning dew in flowry May
 Preferu'd them in their beauty.

Enter Graccho

Grac. Treafon, treafon.

Tiber. Call vp the guard.

Franc. [*aside*] *Graccho!* then we are loft. .215

[*Enter Guard*]

Gracc. I am got off, Sir Iew, a bribe hath done it
 For all your ferious charge; ther's no disguife can keepe

M,

V, 2, 193 honour] N G, owner.

V, 2, 202 chance] Q₂ C M G, change.

[*Sf.*] Like one,
 That learns to know in death what punishment
 Waites on the [breach] of faith, ô now I feele 245
 An *Ætna* in my entrailes, I haue liu'd
 A Prince, and my laft breath fhallbe commaund
 I burne, I burne, yet er'e life be confum'd
 Let me pronounce vpon this wretch all torture
 That witty cruelty can inuent.

Pefc. Away with him. 250

Tibe. In all things we will ferue you.

Franc. Farewell fifter,

Now I haue kept my word, torments I fcorne,
 I leaue the world with glory, they are men
 And leaue behind them name and memory,
 That wrong'd doe right themfelues before they die. 255

Ste. A desperate wretch. *Exe[unt] guard with Franc[ifco].*

[*Sf.*] I come death, I obey thee,

Yet I will not die raging, for alas,
 My whole life was a phrensie. Good *Eugenia*
 In death forgiue me, As you loue me beare her
 To fome religious houfe, there let her fpend 260
 The remnant of her life, when I am afhes
 Perhaps fhee'll be appeaf'd, and fpare a prayer
 For my poore foule. Bury me with *Marcelia*
 And let our Epitaph be— [Dies]

Tibe. His fpeech is ftop'd.

Steph. Already dead.

Pefc. It is in vaine to labour 265

To call him backe, wee'll giue him funerall,
 And then determine of the fstate affaires
 And learne from this example, ther's no truft
 In a foundation that is built on luft.

Exeunt [omnes with bodies].

FINIS.

NOTES

TITLE PAGE

The title page here given is a representation, not a facsimile. There is a misprint of "r" for "t" in "Prin[t]ed".

The title page of the second quarto is the same as that of the first with the exception of the printer's device, and the advertisement at the foot of the page which reads:

London,
Printed by *John Raworth* for *Edward Blackmore*, and
are to be sold at his shop, at the signe of the
Angel in *Pauls Churchyard*. 1638.

PREFATORY VERSES

My quarto hasn't the prefatory verses, which I quote from Hazlitt, reference below.

Their authorship is a disputed question. Davies (quoted by Gifford) says that "'Tis the opinion of Mr. Reed, that the initials W. B. stand for William Brown. . . . I see no reason to think otherwise." Gifford takes Davies to task and thinks the verses may "with some probability, be referred to W. Basse, a minor poet, whose tribute of praise is placed at the head of the commendatory verses on Shakespeare: or to W. Barksted, author of *Myrrha the Mother of Adonis*, a poem, 1607. Barksted was an actor."

Yet Mr. W. C. Hazlitt prints these verses in his edition of "The Whole Works of William Browne," II, p. 359, saying, "I think there can be little doubt of the pen from which they proceeded." Mr. Bullen also in his article upon Browne in D. N. B. thinks they "may be safely assigned" to him.

Now there are also commendatory verses signed W. B. to the *Bondman*. These two sets of verses are evidently by the same author because of identity of tone and thought; but they are so radically different in both tone and expression from the other commendatory verses written by Browne, those to C. Brooke and those to Drayton, that I cannot accept the attribution to Browne of either the commendatory verses to the *Duke of Milan* or those to the *Bondman*.

Mr. Gordon Godwin prints these lines in his edition of Browne, but notes (II, 314) that they have been assigned to Basse also. However, Mr. R. Warwick Bond, in his edition of "The Works of William Basse," pp. 119-22, gives it as his opinion concerning the verses to the *Bondman*, "On grounds of style I think they are more probably by Basse, though in this case he has little to gain from the allowance of his claim." On the

same grounds, it is my belief that both the verses to the *Bondman* and those to the *Duke of Milan* are to be attributed to Basse.

DEDICATION.

Ded. 5-6. Lady Katherine Stanhope. Katherine, daughter of Francis, Lord Hastings, married Philip Stanhope in 1605, to whom she bore six sons. She died Aug. 28, 1636. Stanhope was created Baron of Shelford for the consideration of £10,000, Nov. 7, 1616 (Court and Times of James I, I, 426, 436). He was created Earl of Chesterfield Aug. 4, 1628 (Doyle, D. N. B.).

There is also in existence a MS. copy of a rhymed letter (see Appendix II) by Massinger to the same lady, entitled, "A Newyeares Guift presented to my Lady and M^r the then Lady Katherine Stanhop now Countesse of Chesterfeild (Engl. Stud., 26, 6-7; Athenaeum, 1906, 2, 273). The letter, then, must have been written before Aug 4, 1628, the title after. Seemingly this poem was written before the publication of the *Duke of Milan* (1623) as he says concerning his praise of her, "I haue heretofore been silent," which would not be true after that date. It may have been written shortly before this play was dedicated to her and bear reference to his intention in the lines:

"But there may be a tyme when I shall dare
To tell the world and boldly what yu are."

Yet another and more intimate connection with the play is possible. The "Newyeares Guift" may be a copy of the play itself, in which these lines were originally written, as were the lines to Foljambe in the copy of the same play presented to him (Gifford, IV, 593). His statement of the nature of a work that would live seems to point to a work of this kind rather than to the letter itself.

". . . a work that should indure
Must haue a Genius in it, strong, as pure".

As New Years day came 25th of March the quarto could easily have been printed since its license over two months before. However, this last theory is only a possibility, not a certainty.

Ded. 10. "workes . . . hath." Abbott calls this the "Third person plural in th" (334). This form is common and need not be changed. Cf. II, I, 334-5, for a somewhat similar case.

Ded. 12. "Princesses of Italic." The second quarto prints "Princes" followed by Coxeter and Mason. The reading of the first quarto is preferable here as a lady is addressed. Massinger uses the phrase "Italian Princes" also, in his dedication to *A New Way to Pay Old Debts* where a man is concerned. In both connections he is quoting authority for what he is doing. Professor Parrott calls my attention to a similar use by Chapman in his dedications to the *Widow's Tears* and *Revenge of Bussy*. See his note on the dedication of the *Widow's Tears* (The Comedies of George Chapman, 807).

Ded. 26. "Mr. Malone had convinced himself that the proper name of our poet was Messenger, because it is so spelt in the title-page of the first edition of the Duke of Milan. In this copy [quarto with Massinger's notes], it is corrected as we now have it, and as it stands at the bottom of his little address" (Gifford, I, iii. Note.). In the copy which I have used the name is spelled correctly on the title page but incorrectly in the dedication. It is spelled "Massinger" in the autograph signature to the tripartite letter (Greg, Henslowe Papers, frontispiece facsimile).

ACT I, SCENE I

The text begins on B. There are two leaves preceding, the recto of the first being the title page, verso blank; recto of second bearing the dedication, verso list of actors. The page lettering is often cut away but I have not thought such omissions of sufficient importance to be noted.

I, 1. Scene direction. Directions as to scene I have placed in the notes. Mason follows Coxeter in all stage directions, making only very slight changes in spelling, etc. Therefore, I shall quote only Coxeter. Gifford disagrees from both wherever he is not obliged to agree.

In this instance, Coxeter has, "Scene, a public Place in Pisa"; Gifford "Milan. An outer Room in the Castle." I would prefer "A street in Milan." In reality, as in the other plays of the time, it is doubtful if the author definitely localized the scene. Hence my relegation of such directions to the notes.

I, 1. Stage direction. "Enter Iouio." Gifford says this appears to be a misprint for Julio because he identifies this character with one of the two gentlemen of III, 2, 63, called "Iulio" in the text. The identification is, I think, improbable. (For my reason, see note on III, 2, 63, stage direction.) Besides, the name occurs only once there. Now in *Believe As Ye List* Massinger regularly wrote the names of characters out in full before speeches. If this was his regular method, the printer would have had the full name before him five times in this scene. I see no reason therefore for supposing a misprint.

I, 1. Stage direction. Giovanni says nothing in this scene and does not appear again in the play by name. He should go off with the other two, as Gifford recognized, after line 33.

I, 1, 1. "giue the oath" (see also I, 1, 31). Graccho may mean that they shall make all they meet swear upon their flagons in imitation of Caliban.

"I'll swear upon that bottle to be thy true subject"

Tempest II, 2, 130.

I, 1, 4. "*The Duke of Milan* (1623) seems, by the close continuity of the action, to be concluded in four consecutive days; the only specific allusions to time are the mention of festivities in honor of the duchess' birthday as 'yesterday' (2, 1) and the injunction, on this holiday, 'if you find a man at ten that's sober, he's a traitor' (I, 1)" (The Presentation of Time in the Elizabethan Drama, Mable Buland, page 18).

To these must be added "In three dayes absence buried" (II, 1, 294). In the opening conversation of Act II we are led to suppose that the time is next morning after the happenings of the first act, but in the description of the duchess' behavior (29-41) we must suppose a longer time. Again in II, 1, 56, the feasting of the first act is spoken of as having taken place "yesterday"; but in line 294, Sforza's memory is spoken of as being buried in three days absence. Therefore, it seems to me that Massinger is using the well known device of double time to bridge over the break caused by Sforza's journey. As to fixing the period occupied by the action of the play, I do not see how it can be done with definiteness, but Massinger tried to create the impression of continuous action.

I, 1, 5. I have placed the second half line to the right in order to show the lining. In the quarto, no such distinction is made. I have followed this plan throughout.

I, 1, 6. If we are to believe Sir Thomas Overbury, the sexton would be willing enough to take the "oath." He says in his character of a Sexton (Characters, 1614), "He could willingly all his life time be confinde to the church-yard; at least within five foot on't: for at every church stile, commonly ther's an ale-house: where let him be found never so idlepated, he is still a grave drunkard . . . he will hold argument in a taverne over sack, till the deall and himselve be both at a stand."

Jovio may raise the question of the sexton's exemption because he had night duties which he would not be supposed to leave to celebrate. However, according to Graccho, not even the sexton is to be exempt.

I, 1, 6-7. "'If the bells ring out of tune,' i. e. backward: the usual signal of alarm on the breaking out of fires. So in the City Match (Jasper Mayne):

'Then, sir, in time

You may be remember'd at the quenching of
Fired houses, when the bells ring backward, by
Your name upon the buckets.'" Gifford.

(Act II, Scene 3, page 230 in H's Dodsley, Vol. XIII.)

I, 1, 9. "tooke." Gifford has altered this participial form consistently to "ta'en" in this play and all others whose quartos I have examined.

"Owing to the tendency to drop the inflection *en*, the Elizabethan authors frequently used the curtailed forms of past participles which are common in Early English." (Abbott, 343.)

I, 1, 11. "Vnlesse he read it in Geneua print." "Alluding to the spirituous liquor so called," Mason.

There is also the punning reference to the Geneva Bible which was printed in readable Roman type. A man who could read any but the clearest print was not drunk enough.

This punning reference occurs also in the *Merry Devil of Edmonton*, II, 1, 63-4, where the host says to the smith, who is drunk, "Smith, I see by thy eyes thou hast bin reading little Geneua print."

I, I, 14-15.

"Or if you Mittigate it, Let such pay
Fortie Crownes to the poore."

There were three statutes against drunkenness in the reign of James I. 1 *James I, cap. 9*, provided that every innkeeper was to be fined "5s. currant money of England, to the vse of the Poore of the Parish where each offence shall be committed" if he permitted drunkenness in his place. 4 *James I, cap. 5*, provided that every person who should be drunk must pay a fine of five shillings for the use of the poor. If he refused to pay the fine, it might be levied from his property; or if he didn't have that much property, "Then the Offendor or Offendors shall bee committed to the Stockes for euerie Offence, there to remaine by the space of three houres." 21 *James I, cap. 7* (A. D. 1623-4), strengthens the preceding act considerably.

It is, of course, to the second of these that reference is made here. Graccho recommends that offenders receive the maximum penalty of being laid by the heels and greatly exaggerates the fine that is to be imposed in case of mercy. Of course, it is natural to think of the law against drunkenness when drunkards are presented but this law seems to have been on Massinger's mind especially about this time as he satirizes the enforcing of the same law in *Love's Cure*, IV, 3 (171b) (references to the Beaumont and Fletcher plays are to Darley's edition):

"Alg. Now we'll go search the taverns, commit such
As we find drinking, and be drunk ourselves
With what we take from them."

Massinger's part of this play is supposed to date about 1623. He refers to this law again, together with that against swearing, in the *Unnatural Combat*, IV, 2 (57b):

"To be often drunk, and swear, yet pay no forfeit
To the poor!"

Possibly this interest is to be accounted for by agitation which led to the enactment of the more stringent third law in 1623-4. Ben Jonson also refers to this law in *Bartholomew Fair*, IV, 3 (1614): "Stay, Bristle, here ish anoder brash of drunkards, but very quiet, special drunkards, will pay de five shillings very well."

I, I, 17. "the Courtier's reeling." All preceding editors seem to regard "Courtiers" as the plural of the noun. It was easy for an apostrophe to drop out as it did in III, 2, 6, "honours," where there is no ambiguity, however. The construction, "the Courtier," occurs again, IV, I, 23.

I, I, 18-19. "Duke . . . kind and in his tottering chaire carousing."
Cf.

"drunken men
Are ever loving."
The Chances, I, I (495a). Fletcher scene.

I, I, 32-3. "Lord . . . bound . . . to take his rouse." "As drunk as a begger. This Proverb begins now to be disused, and people instead of it are ready to say, As drunk as a Lord: so much hath that vice (the more is the pity) prevail'd among the Nobility and Gentry of late years." (John Ray, *Proverbs*, page 104, no. 18.)

I, I, 53. C. M. G.; all omit "the" from the phrase "at the stake" of the quartos, seemingly because of the meter. The omission, however, is not necessary, and where I have found the phrase in Massinger, it is "at the stake," though there is no doubt about the meter in the other cases. Cf. *Bond.*, I, 2 (105a); IV, 3, (122a); *P. L.*, IV, 5 (186b); *D. F.*, III, 1 (236a); *N. W.*, III, 2 (403a). References throughout are to Cunningham's Massinger.

I, I, 59-60.

"Dangers that we see

To threaten ruine, are with ease preuented."

In the table at the back of Lodge's Seneca, we find "Afflictions that are seene, are slight, 720." On page 720, in the margin we find "afflictions that are foreseen are slight"; in the text, "Those things that are long time foreseene assault us more leasurely." (Lodge's Seneca, ed. 1620, p. 720.) For other parallels from Lodge's Seneca, see notes to III, I, 219-20; IV, 3, 102; V, 2, 227-8.

I, I, 66-8. "warre . . . have" Mason and Gifford write "wars," but as the quarto construction is a common one of the time, I let it stand. For the same construction see III, 3, 95-6. Abbott does not give a separate section to this construction but quotes two illustrations under 337.

I, I, 68. Gifford prints "interest'd" and remarks, "So the old copies. The modern editors, much to the advantage of the rhythm, read: 'Have interested,' etc. Probably they were ignorant of such a word as interest". My copy of the first quarto reads "interrest'd", second "interest'd". *Believe As Ye List*, MS. II, 2 (606b), reads:

"such men as were interesst'd
In the greate cause".

Therefore, I believe my quarto has the correct form. Gifford may have had a first quarto with slight variations from mine as he makes a positive statement which mine does not bear out again, I, 3, 30. So the New English Dictionary which quotes this passage as an example under "Interest v. 4" should probably shift it to "Interest v. 4".

I, I, 74. The sense here seems to demand "hating", which would require only the mistaking by the printer of a "t" for a "v". This mistake would be easily made in Massinger's handwriting, especially when the letter is followed by an "i" as it is here.

I, I, 74. "Spanish pride". The phrase "Spanish pride" would come very naturally to Massinger at this time when negotiations for the unpopular Spanish match were at their highest pitch. It was in February, 1623, that Charles made his visit of courtship to the Spanish Court. It

will be remembered that Massinger was refused license for *Believe As Ye List* later because of its treatment of Spanish affairs. Cf. I, 3, 105.
I, 1, 85-6.

"Untill it be determin'd by the sword,
Who hath the better cause".

Cf.

"Let their swords determine
Who hath the better cause".
The False One, I, 1 (389a). (A Massinger scene.)

I, 1, 88. "Most miserably guilty." A Massinger expression. Cf. *U. C.*, V, 2 (61b); *Fat. D.*, IV, 4 (380a).

I, 1, 90-91.

"on whose faire Tent
Win'gd victory will make her glorious stand."

Precisely the same figure occurs in *False One*, I, 1 (390b), and *Prophetess*, IV, 4 (17b), both of which scenes are assigned by Boyle, Oliphant, Fleay, and Macaulay to Massinger, in which assignment I concur.

With the change of "win'gd" to "plumed" it occurs in *M. H.*, I, 2 (258a); and *Pict.*, II, 2 (295a); with the further change of "tent" to "helmet" *U. C.*, II, 1 (42b).

I, 1, 120. Massinger's line has a caesural pause in the oratorical center, the two halves balancing, in this line after "too". Consequently, "too" does not modify "acquainted", and the line should be punctuated and read as Coxeter and Mason have indicated. The second half of the parenthesis is omitted in the quarto but should be placed at the end of the line where the quarto has a comma.

I, 1, 126. "Exeunt" has been moved down a line.

ACT I, SCENE 2

I, 2. There is no division marked here in the quarto or for scene 3. All other scene divisions are marked. The divisions may have been made, however, and for some reason have been crossed out as so many are in *Believe As Ye List*, MS.

I, 2, Scene direction. C, M "Scene changes to the Court." G "Another Room in the same". Seemingly the scene is "A room in the Palace".

I, 2, Stage direction. A comma is placed after Mariana by mistake for a period. A few other mistakes of the same kind appear. Cf. I, 3, 10.

I, 2, 1.

"I scorne to be a spot".

"Mariana alludes to the spots (eyes) in the peacock's tail." Gifford.

Cf. "So rare are true deservers lov'd or known,
That men lov'd vulgarly are ever none,
Nor men grac'd servilely for being spots
In princes trains, though borne even with their crowns."
(Chapman, *Byron's Conspiracy*, III, 2, 232-235, Parrott.)

I, 2, 6. The second quarto, followed by all the modern editors, places a comma after "please", which is probably correct, as it carries out the parallelism of the sentence. The caesural pause after "please" indicates the same reading. Cf. *Emp.* I, 2 (325a). Quarto. "And if you please, ask some about the court". I do not find the construction with "to" omitted after please in Massinger.

I, 2, 9. The first quarto has a period after "graunted". I have followed the second in substituting a comma.

I, 2, 18. The period is omitted after "praises". Such a mistake is very rare in this quarto. I have noted no other case in the text, though there are a very few others in the name abbreviations.

I, 2, 20. In the quarto, the apostrophe is one letter too far forward in "wha'ts" and "defor'md". It is placed correctly in I, 3, 6. See opposite error in *ner'e*, I, 3, 26, 70; also *ne're*, I, 3, 345.

I, 2, 32. Q. "To 'obey". I suspect the apostrophe is before "obey" because the printer intended to omit the "o". Cf. IV, 2, 4, "To 'bserve", an exact parallel.

ACT I, SCENE 3

I, 3. Coxeter and Mason have no specific scene for this. Gifford has "A State Room in the same", which is sufficiently correct though "banqueting hall" would probably be better. See note on I, 2.

I, 3, 6-10. Compare this sentiment with that of Beaumont:

"*Lys.* Strato, thou has some skill in poetry;

What think'st thou of the masque? will it be well?

Stra. As well as masques can be.

Lys. As masques can be?

Stra. Yes; they must commend their king, and speak in praise

Of the assembly, bless the bride and bridegroom

In person of some god; they're tied to rules

Of flattery."

Maid's Tragedy, I, 1, 5-11. Variorum.

The definition of each is about the same, "A piece of flattery". Beaumont has given us illustrations of his definition in the masque concerning which this was said and in the "Masque of the Inner Temple".

We do not know that Massinger wrote so elaborate a masque as the latter, but he has a masque in the *Picture*, II, 2 (295b-296a). In the *City Madam*, V, 3 (454b) and the *Guardian*, IV, 2 (481b) he has representations containing the same elements, classic figures, music, and dance, though he does not there dignify them with the name of masque. Perhaps these latter might better be classified as pageant, pantomime, or dumb show.

His masques, in form, seem to follow the Fletcher formula fairly well:

"Tis not half an hour's work:

A Cupid and a fiddle, and the thing's done."

The Elder Brother, II, 2. (Fletcher scene.)

I, 3, 10. A comma appears after "Gent." by mistake for a period.
I, 3, 20-1.

"this present age yeelds not a woman
Worthy to be her second".

The same expression occurs in *D. F.*, I, 2 (227a); *Emp.*, I, 1 (321a).

I, 3, 23. "Of those canoniz'd Ladies Sparta boasts of".

Cf. "What the canonized Spartan ladies were".

Virgin Martyr, V, 2 (33a).

I, 3, 25. Here the printer misread "and" for "one". This is very easy to do in Massinger's handwriting as the "e" and the "d" are very much alike, the only difference being in size. This is one of the errors that Massinger corrected in the Foljambe quarto.

I, 3, 30. "'Forces her modesty'. So the edition of 1623, which Coxeter does not appear to have often consulted. He reads, after that of 1638, *enforces*, though it destroys the metre. Mr. M. Mason, of course, follows him". (Gifford.)

Again Gifford makes a positive statement which is not borne out by my first quarto. See note, I, 1, 68. The reading of the quartos does not destroy the meter of the line as may be seen when it is read in connection with the preceding lines. Instead, it gives a smoother reading. Massinger's lines should not be considered singly but as a part of the larger structure in which they occur.

I, 3, 34. For "absolute" the second quarto reads "perfect both". It is noticeable that on the reverse of the page, about one line lower down and a little to the right we find an analogous change, line 70 of Q₂ reads "sweet" for the first "swear" of Q₁. I suspect, therefore, that the copy of the first quarto from which the second was printed was slightly injured here, and the printer supplied the gap to the best of his ability. This may have been the case also in II, 1, 240. Of course, "sweet" for "swear" is in itself a perfectly plausible misprint.

I, 3, 35. "speake the least part to the height". This expression occurs again, *Guard.*, IV, 2 (482a).

The phrase "to the height" occurs in other authors of the time, Shakespeare, Fletcher, etc., but I have found it in combination with "speak" nowhere but in Massinger.

I, 3, 69-70. "(Which pardon mee, that I presume to kisse)

Sfo. O sweare, for ever sweare."

Cf. "*Beaume*l. By this kiss,

And this and this.

Nov. jun. That you would ever swear thus!"

Fat. D., III, 1 (368a).

I, 3, 72. For the normal construction "sated with" cf.

"sated with

The peace and quiet of a country life".

Bel., V, 1 (620b); MS. 23 verso.

"and when you are sated
With thinking of Leosthenes".

Bond., III, 2 (115a).

I, 3, 81. The direction has been moved from the right margin at end of the line.

I, 3, 82. The spelling and metrical position of "Pavie" indicate its pronunciation, Pa'vy.

I, 3, 83. Gifford makes the Post go out, doubtless to serve as the second Post a few lines later. I rather think that he remained, as did the second, till the general exit. The table of dramatis personae seems to bear this out by its entry, "2 Posts".

I, 3, 84-5. "This . . . passion" is printed in the second quarto as one line. The second quarto rearranges often, not seemingly upon metrical grounds, but rather to save space, as the text is closely printed, Q₁ does not often do this. Q₂ rearranges also in I, 3, 92; II, 1, 206-7; III, 1, 61; III, 1, 105; III, 1, 141; III, 1, 211; III, 2, 24; III, 2, 104; III, 3, 125; IV, 2, 2; IV, 2, 19; IV, 2, 43; IV, 3, 83; IV, 3, 167; IV, 3, 177; IV, 3, 184; IV, 3, 206; IV, 3, 207; IV, 3, 208; IV, 3, 211; IV, 3, 247; V, 1, 23; V, 1, 114; V, 1, 121; V, 1, 138.

I, 3, 143. In the quarto, this direction is placed at the end of the second half line.

I, 3, 153. Mason and Gifford alter "Tis" to "Is". I prefer to keep the quarto reading as I think it is correct; and with its broken construction, more appropriate under the circumstances.

I, 3, 162. I have inserted here Gifford's directions, with the addition of "two Posts", there being no direction at this point in the quartos or editions preceding Gifford's.

I, 3, 169. "flow from me". A recurring phrase. Cf. III, 3, 86-7; V, 2, 158-9.

I, 3, 193. There is no mark of punctuation at the end of this line in the quartos. Mason and Gifford place an exclamation mark here, which in many ways gives a preferable reading but not an absolutely necessary one.

I, 3, 199-200.

"Tis not in the power
Of Fate to alter me".

Cf. II, 1, 396.

I, 3, 202. This passage has always given trouble. There is no break metrically or in the quartos. Gifford says Massinger made no correction here in the Foljambe quarto. Either, then, he overlooked it, or it is as he intended it. Coxeter and Mason read:

"But were that Will,
To be so, forc'd, Marcellia?"

Gifford inserts "be" before "forced" in his first edition but leaves a blank in the same place for his second. Either reading gives the evident

meaning of the passage. The Coxeter reading has the advantage of being metrical and clear but requires a slight emendation. Gifford's final interpretation would leave the text intact but requires an obscure construction that is to me very un-Massingerian. Therefore I prefer the Coxeter reading but do not regard the evidence for it sufficiently strong to make emendation absolutely certain.

I, 3, 203. Mason and Gifford both print "my" instead of "mine". I am not sure that the change was intentional, but if so, I see no reason for it. Before vowels "mine" is the regular form in this play. Cf. I, 3, 371, "mine owne security".

I, 3, 213-4. "There are so many ways to let out life, I would not live, for one short minute his".

Cf. *P. L.*, IV, 2 (183a); *Very Woman*, V, 4 (524a), where we are told there are "a thousand doors".

Cunliffe (*Influence of Seneca on Elizabethan Tragedy*, 23-4) quotes several instances of this idea and gives its source as Seneca's *Thebais*, 151-3:

"ubique mors est. optime hoc cauit deus.
eripere vitam nemo non homini potest,
at nemo mortem; mille ad hanc aditus patent."

He considers that Massinger's most important debt to Seneca, however, is "the Stoical fortitude with which [his] characters are inspired in face of death" (p. 116). Seneca is mentioned by Massinger, *M. H.*, IV, 3 (272b); *R. A.*, III, 2 (208a); *Emp.*, V, 1 (348a).

I, 3, 217. In the quarto the stage direction is at the end of the line, thus "Why vncall'd for?) *Ent. Francis.*"

I, 3, 240. "Thus then, Sir". Another Massinger formula. Cf. I, 3, 248; I, 3, 284. He uses "then" very frequently.

I, 3, 243. "For fame hath many wings to bring ill tidings".

Cf. "Ill news, madam,
Are swallow wing'd, but what's good walks on crutches".
Pict., II, 1 (292a).

For the description of Fame, see Virgil's *Aeneid*, 4, 173-88.

I, 3, 244-5. This stands in the quartos:

"But to give you such,
Such friendly counsell."

Massinger does repeat sometimes from one line to the next; but as this case would give an extra foot and is not at all necessary the first "such" is probably a misprint.

I, 3, 301. Gifford alters "thou" to "you". He has done so either unintentionally or inconsistently as he retains a perfect parallel in 308.

I, 3, 322. For semicolon marking interrupted speech see Simpson, *Shakespearean Punctuation*, p. 60.

I, 3, 325. "signes of dutie". Coxeter and Mason insert a stage direction "Kneels" which is probably correct.

I, 3, 325-6.

"Is she not the abstract
Of all that's rare, or to be wish't in Woman?"

This is a repeated Massinger expression. Cf. *R. A.*, I, 2 (106a); *M. H.*, IV, 3 (273b); *Pict.*, I, 2 (287b); *Emp.*, IV, 5 (344a); *D. F.*, III, I (238b).

I, 3, 328. "Ad to her goodness". I can not agree with Gifford who reads "too". I have not found an undoubted instance of such a construction in Massinger. As it stands, it is a Massinger construction. Cf. I, 3, 178; II, I, 289; III, I, 96; IV, I, 66.

I, 3, 336. The mark of punctuation is badly blurred in the first quarto but I think it is probably the question mark, as it is in the second quarto.

I, 3, 350. "What is decreed, can never be recal'd". The reference is probably to the decree of Fate, not Sforza's decree. Cf. *New Way*, V, I (420b):

"what's decreed
Above, we cannot alter."

I, 3, 360 "his unspotted body". "His" was corrected to "her" by Massinger in the Foljambe quarto. We might have supposed as much from the parallel passage, IV, 3, 312-3.

ACT II, SCENE I

II, I. Coxeter and Mason, "Scene, a Court belonging to the Palace." Gifford "The same. An open space before the Castle." Either will do as the scene is evidently before Marcellia's room, her first appearance being on the upper stage.

II, I, 3. "To leave his owne strengths." Massinger is rather fond of such plurals. This word occurs in the plural in *Ren.*, V, 3 (161a); *M. H.*, III, 3 (269b), V, 2 (282a); *Pict.*, IV, 4 (313a); *N. W.*, I, 2 (392a); *Bash.*, V, 3 (558a); *Bond.* (Q), I, 2 (102a); *R. A.* (Q), V, I (220b).

II, I, 9. "owne and sure". This phrase occurs in *R. A.*, III, 2 (207b); *Bel.*, III, 3 (610a).

II, I, 17. "Oedipus", the solver of riddles. Cf. *R. A.*, III, 2 (209b); *D. F.*, IV, I (245a); *Pict.*, III, 5 (302a); *Emp.*, II, I (328a).

II, I, 29-30. Gifford arranges:

"Sadly, it seems by the dutchess;
For since he left the court,
For the most part, etc."

The quarto reading gives only one imperfect line, 28. Gifford's gives two, 28 and 30. The imperfect lines are few in this play.

II, I, 37-8.

"she that lately
Rivald Poppaea in her varied shapes,
Or the Aegyptian Queene."

Cf. "But so adorn'd as if she were to rival
Nero's Poppaea or the Egyptian queen."

Very Woman, II, 3 (501a).

II, 1, 48. In the first quarto this direction is placed in the margin opposite line 49 and first half-line of 50.

II, 1, 57. "Ladies". The possessive singular. Graccho is servant of the princess Mariana, line 58.

II, 1, 83. This direction is placed in the first quarto in the margin following the second half-line of 83.

II, 1, 84. "There is no contending". The characteristic phrase of Stephano from now on. Cf. II, 1, 237; IV, 3, 247.

II, 1, 85. Graccho is evidently talking to Mariana when Tiberio says, "See, the informing rogue." Gifford noted this, attaching to the preceding stage directions, line 83, "Graccho whispers the latter."

II, 1, 92. In the first quarto, this stage direction follows the first half-line of 92.

II, 1, 94. "Arras pictures of Nobilitie". Empty forms of nobility with no more real power than the pictures on arras.

II, 1, 105. The question mark was used regularly in exclamations. See Simpson, *Shakespearean Punctuation*, p. 85.

II, 1, 109.

"Of a little thing,
It is so full of gall".

Gifford notes here the frequent allusion to the size of the actors in plays of the time, one of which is *Midsummer Night's Dream* (III, 2, 282 ff.), the quarrel in which between Hermia and Helena he considers the model and authority for this scene in the *Duke of Milan*. It cannot be accepted as authority for the scene, however, as it is in comedy, this in tragedy.

Gifford also things the part of Mariana was "not improbably" taken by Theophilus Bourne, who acted Paulina, a woman "low of stature" in the *Renegado*, I, 2 (135b), and mentions that Domitilla in the *Roman Actor*, who was called "Dwarf", IV, 1 (211b), was played by John Hunnyman. We have no record that Bourne ever belonged to the King's men. When he played Paulina in the *Renegado*, licensed 1624, printed 1630, he was a member of the Princess Elizabeth's men. Hunnyman is first mentioned in the *Roman Actor* (Oct. 11, 1626), and is evidently very young at that time as he is called "Dwarf". He could not, then, have taken the part, which must have been taken by a boy just beginning about 1622, for Mariana is "little" (II, 1, 109). It could hardly have been Holcombe, as he had come into the company before 1619. It may have been James Horn, who is mentioned in the *Pilgrim*, last of the list and therefore presumably is an actor of women's parts; or John Thompson, who is certainly in the company before 1623, playing the part of Julia to Sharp's Duchess in the *Duchess of Malfi*. I suspect Thompson took the part.

Since Richard Sharp played the chief women's parts for the King's Company from before 1619 to about 1623, it is practically certain that he

played the part of Marcelia, he being now "three foote" too tall for a woman (II, 1, 189).

Cf. II, 1, 158; II, 1, 189-90. Cf. *M. H.*, II, 2 (261b). "Of a little thing".

II, 1, 110. "It, Used in childish language, and hence contemptuously or humorously, of a person", *N. E. D.* Compare Abbott 228.

This same construction occurs later, line 144, where Marcelia uses it sarcastically as expressing the attitude of Isabella and Mariana to her.

II, 1, 121. "Song". "This, like many others, does not appear; it was probably supplied at pleasure by the actors." Gifford. In this connection, it is interesting to note a parallel case in *Believe As Ye List* MS. In the margin (leaf 20, recto) appears the direction, "Harry: Willson: & Boy ready for the song at the Arras." About forty-five lines later, "The Lute strikes & then the Songe."

II, 1, 142. The period is the commonest form of marking an interrupted speech. See Simpson, *Shakespearean Punctuation*, p. 84. Cf. II, 1, 162; III, 1, 21.

II, 1, 145. "Y'are". This contraction occurs only once more in the quarto, IV, 3, 149. It is common in Fletcher, rare in Massinger. Cf. Variorum edition of Beaumont and Fletcher, II, 103 ff., *Spanish Curate*, edited by R. B. McKerrow, introduction, dealing with "you" and "ye".

II, 1, 154. There may be a double meaning to the word "dry" here, dry and wrinkled from age.

II, 1, 169-70. Gifford thinks Massinger is indebted for this touch "to the treacherous loquacity of the dutchess's waiting woman, in her midnight conference with Don Quixote" (Part II, Chap. XLVIII).

But compare the following:

"*Abig.* Thou'rt a vile man: God bless my issue from thee!

E. Love. Thou hast but one, and that's in thy left crupper,

That makes thee hobble so: you must be ground

I' the breech like a top; you'll never spin well else."

Scornful Lady, V, I, at end, Cambridge reprint.

Massinger, then, may have got his suggestion either directly or indirectly from Don Quixote. It seems probable that this book started the comic treatment of "issue" though the word was common enough. Cf. the woman with an "issue" of the Bible.

II, 1, 173. Gifford prints "aboue the ground". The phrase occurs as "above ground" in the *Bondman*, quarto 1624, II, 3 (111b), and in the *Fat. D.*, I, 1 (355a). Therefore, the quarto reading is correct. According to Gifford's text, this form occurs also, *Ren.*, IV, 1 (154a).

II, 1, 179. "She's of the kind". "A chicken of the right kind". *Guard.*, IV, 1 (480a). Cf. II, 1, 112; II, 1, 219.

It is interesting to note that Massinger has used in the space of slightly over a hundred lines, figures from the three principal sports of the time—cock-fighting, horse-racing, bear-baiting.

II, 1, 182. This stage direction followed line 181 in the quarto.

II, 1, 212. Gifford rearranges:

"I will be partial
To none, not to myself."

I consider the original correct.

II, 1, 242. In the first quarto, this direction is placed opposite the three half-lines beginning with the second half line of 240.

II, 1, 261-2. Coxeter and Mason read:

"And rais'd so high upon a Rock of Goodness
That Vice can never reach you."

II, 1, 274. "beyond this". Marcellia is referring to "this" favor of kissing her hand. Why Gifford should have substituted "it" for "this" I cannot see.

II, 1, 275-6. "Be it death,
And death with torments."

A Massinger expression. Cf. III, 3, 143; *R. A.*, I, 1 (195b).

II, 1, 289. "Libidinous". This adjective is quite common in Massinger. Cf. *U. C.*, V, 2 (62b); *Bond.*, IV, 3 (122a); *P. L.*, V, 1 (190a); *Pict.*, III, 4 (301b); *Guard.*, I, 1 (460b), V, 2 (487a); *Bash.*, III, 3 (544a).

II, 1, 305. "ad to that". Gifford changes "that" to "it", but the quarto reading is the Massinger construction. See II, 1, 289, for precisely the same expression. Also cf. III, 1, 96.

II, 1, 307-11. For same sentiment cf. *P. L.*, II, 3 (174a).

II, 1, 315-16. This seems to mean "It was your beauty, and not your other qualities, that I first saw and loved", but it may mean "Your beauty which I loved the first time I saw it", or "Your beauty which I was the first to see and love".

II, 1, 334-5. Cf. note to Ded. 10.

II, 1, 335. Massinger evidently held the Ptolemaic system of the universe, in which he was not behind his time. "In England few men of eminence had at this period (Milton's) embraced the new astronomical doctrines, and up to and beyond the middle of the seventeenth century the majority of those who represented the intellect and learning of the country professed their adherence to the old Ptolemaic beliefs. . . . Bacon (1561-1626) persistently rejected them, as did also many other men of learning who lived at that time. . . . From his youth up to his thirtieth year, Milton (born 1608) may be regarded as having been a consistent Ptolemaist." (Thomas N. Orchard, *Milton's Astronomy*, 98-9.)

II, 1, 358-9. "Or that, the ravenous Eagle, and the Dove
Keepe in one Ayery, and bring up their yong."

Cf. "One aerie with proportion ne'er discloses
The eagle and the wren".

Maid of Honor, I, 2, (258b).

II, 1, 370-1. Gifford attaches "I'll try" to the preceding line. I have followed the quartos, as I see no advantage in rearrangement.

II, 1, 381. "I'll bend her body". "Thus, in the Maid's Tragedy:

'I've heard, if there be any life but bow
The body thus, and it will show itself'".

Gifford.

Cf. *Bash.*, III, 3 (545a).

II, 1, 393. "be no more remembred". Frequently repeated. Cf. *Ren.*, IV, 3 (157a); *R. A.*, I, 4 (199b).

II, 1, 397. Gifford has slightly altered this by putting a period after dies. He thereby spoils a typical Massinger expression. Cf. IV, 3, 278-9; V, 1, 23-4.

II, 1, 400-1.

"For with this Arme I'll swim through Seas of blood,
Or make a Bridge, arch'd with the bones of Men".

Cf. "I would not go through open doors, but break 'em
Swim to my ends through blood; or build a bridge
Of carcasses".

Jonson's *Cataline*, III, 2.

II, 1, 403. The question mark is often used where we would use a mark of exclamation. Cf. III, 1, 191; III, 2, 65; III, 3, 135; IV, 2, 14; IV, 3, 271. See P. Simpson's *Shakespearean Punctuation*, section 37.

ACT III, SCENE I

III, 1, Scene direction. Coxeter and Mason "Scene, The Imperial Camp." Gifford, "The Imperial Camp, before Pavia". Gifford's seems the better.

III, 1, 19-21. "Of all kinds of nutriment, wine was thought to contribute most to the formation of blood. Cf. Marlowe, second part of *Tamburlaine the Great* (III, ii, 3297-8):

'Filling their empty vaines with aiery wine,
That being concocted, turnes to crimson blood.'

(P. A. Robin, *The Old Physiology in English Literature*, p. 107.)

III, 1, 24. That is to say, they make three meals of a bunch of raisins. Massinger considered that to make one meal upon a bunch was bad enough. Cf. *D. F.*, II, 2 (231b).

"But Italians,
That think when they have supp'd upon an olive,
A root, or bunch of raisins, 'tis a feast".

"'Surely', says Plotwell, in the City Match (III, 3, p. 265, Hazlitt's *Dodsley*, XIII),

'Surely, myself,
Cipher his factor, and an ancient cat,
Did keep strict diet, had our Spanish fare,
Four olives among three! My uncle would
Look fat with fasting; I have known him surfeit
Upon a bunch of raisins, swoon at sight

Of a whole joint, and rise an epicure
From half an orange'".

Gifford.

III, I, 25-7.

"These Spunges that suck up a Kingdomes fat
To be squeez'd out by the rough hand of warre".

This figure is repeated *Bel.*, V, I (621a).

"Batning like Scarabes in the dung of Peace".

This figure is repeated, *Pict.*, II, 2 (294b).

III, I, 31-2.

"Their faire Madona's, that in little Dogges,
Monkeis, and Paraquito's consume thousands".

Cf. *New Way*, IV, 3 (416a), for same list of pets. Compare Beaumont in the *Woman Hater*, II, I (433a):

"women that were created only for the preservation of little dogs".

III, I, 84. Both the sense and the meter require the insertion of "on", which was supplied by Coxeter.

III, I, 95-6. "what a worthy thing it is
To have power, and not to use it".

This thought is repeated, *U. C.*, V, 2 (62a); *Bash.*, II, 3 (546a).

III, I, 147. "Your" for "you" occurs in *Thierry and Theodoret*, II, I (p. 28, 130, Cambridge Reprint); a Massinger scene, as Boyle, Oliphant, Fleay, and Macaulay agree. Thus the mistake is probably due to Massinger's handwriting.

III, I, 163-4. "stands Prepar'd for either fortune". Cf. *Bond.*, III, 3 (116b); *Bel.*, I, I (596a).

III, I, 191. "He hath deliver'd reasons". Mason emended to "reason", but Massinger regularly uses the plural.

Cf. "When I have yielded reasons".
Bond., V, 3 (131b).
"These his letters
Will yield you further reasons."
Great Duke, I, I (225a).
"I'll yield you reasons".
Bel., III, 3 (612b).

III, I, 194-5. Coxeter and Mason read:

"I care not who knows it) I wonder he
Can be so stupid".

III, I, 199-200. (Constancy) "beares such palme
And priviledge with it".

Cf. "To think what privilege and palm it (clothing) bears
Here, in the court!"

Jonson's *Every Man Out Of His Humour*, III, 3.

III, 1, 219-20. "Not to take
From others to give only to my self".

"A. Whether a man may give unto himselfe, & requite himselfe".
Lodge's *Seneca*, table of Paradoxes.

The peculiarity of this expression seems to have caused some trouble. Gifford says: "This is the reading of all the old copies, and nothing can be clearer than that it is perfectly proper. The modern editors, however, choose to weaken both the sense and the sentiment, by a conceit of their own: they print, "— to give only to *thysself*!"

The quoted passage supports the quarto. See also the discussion of this question in Lodge's *Seneca*, page 98.

III, 1, 246-7. This is printed in the quarto thus:
"In this and all things, we are your Servants".

I have accepted Coxeter's rearrangement, followed by Mason and Gifford, which the meter requires. The second quarto prints one line speeches as above regularly (see note I, 3, 84-5), but the first quarto does so very rarely.

ACT III, SCENE 2

III, 2, Scene direction. Coxeter and Mason, "Scene changes to Pisa". Gifford: "Milan. A room in the Castle." Gifford's is sufficiently accurate.

III, 2, 4. "There does belong a feeling".

Cf. "Nay, since we trade both one way, thou shalt have
Some feeling with me: take that".

The Lover's Progress, II, 2 (642b) (Massinger scene).

"I care not for seeing, I love feeling; let me feel it here; *aurium tenus*, ten pieces of gold; *genuum tenus*, ten pieces of silver".—Dekker's *Shoemaker Holiday*, IV, 5.

"Feeling" is therefore a slang expression for money, used in the sense of tip, bribe, gratuity. Massinger probably borrowed this word from Dekker, since shortly before the writing of the *Duke of Milan* he had revised one of Dekker's plays, the *Virgin Martyr*, and presumably was interested in the work of that author.

"Feeling" is therefore the correct word and not "feeing" as Cunningham, followed by Symons, prints.

III, 2, 6. "honours". See note I, 1, 17.

III, 2, 8. "Chirurgion". Where I have consulted quartos or MS., Massinger always uses this form, not "surgeon". Cf. *Bond.*, II, 3 (111b); *R. A.*, III, 2 (208b); *Emp.*, IV, 4 (342a); *Bel.*, (600a).

III, 2, 11. Gifford has substituted "his" for "their", but I think the form is probably as Massinger wrote it. The ideas of agreement were

far looser than now. Besides, the reference here seems to be rather to the class than to any particular individual. When we remember that Massinger used "Courtier" as plural (IV, 1, 23), we may see still further reason for "their". Yet he uses "his" in line 12.

III, 2, 17-8. See Introduction, Date of Composition.

III, 2, 27. All the editors have followed quarto two in reading "of" for "or" of the first quarto, probably being influenced in their choice by the expression in *Hamlet*, I, 2, 150, "discourse of reason". The phrase with "of" is quite common. See note to this passage in the Variorum Shakespeare.

I have found no other instance in Massinger where "of" was suspected. Massinger's usual order is "Discourse", conjunction, parallel word, such as "reason", "manners", etc. I see no reason, then, to read with the second quarto. Cf. "discourse or manners", IV, 3, 195 "discourse and reason", *U. C.*, II, 1 (41a), "discourse and judgement", *Cit.*, III, 2 (438b).

III, 2, 32. Gifford supplies the missing syllable in this line with "sir". He is possibly correct. This word would easily drop out since according to the manuscript of *Believe As Ye List* this is a contracted form, only the "S" being written in the line. A very little indistinctness might cause it to be overlooked. Cf. I, 3, 117; I, 3, 120; II, 1, 19, etc.

III, 2, 35. "And 'tis the last that's memorable." "It is the latest story about women that is worth remembering".

III, 2, 36. Gifford has "little doubt but that this lively story was founded in fact, and well understood by the poet's contemporaries."

III, 2, 42. "Was found at the exercise behind the Arras." Cf. *Ren.*, III, 4 (149b). Also compare a passage, not by Massinger, in *Two N. K.*, IV, 3 (574a).

III, 2, 55. With the words "Goe, ther's for thee" Graccho probably gives the officer the "feeling" he has asked for.

III, 2, 63. "perused the Porters lodge." "i. e. that have been whipt there. The porter's lodge, in our author's days, when the great claimed, and indeed, frequently exercised, the right of chastising their servants, was the usual place of punishment. Thus Shirley in the Grateful Servant (Act III, scene 1):

My friend, what make you here?

Begone, begone, I say; there is a porter's lodge else, where you may have due chastisement."—Gifford.

Cf. Jonson's *Masque of Augurs*. Nares' *Glossary* gives other instances of the same allusion. Actual instances of the custom are to be found in Nichols, *Progresses of James I*, Vol. II, 490; III, 536. Cf. *N. W.*, I, 1 (390a).

III, 2, 63. "Enter Julio and Giovanni. This has been hitherto printed, *Enter two Gentlemen*, though one of them is immediately named. Not to multiply characters unnecessarily, I have supposed them to be the same that appear with Graccho, in the first scene of the first act."—Gifford.

I have no doubt that the parts were acted by the same men as in the first scene, since there are usually three actors in this stratum of the play, three drunkards at beginning of first scene, three gentlemen setting forth banquet at beginning of I, 3; Graccho and (two?) fiddlers in Act II, three soldiers at the beginning of Act III, then Graccho and his two tormentors in the scene under discussion. But I see no more necessity for their bearing the same names here than elsewhere. Besides, these are not the friends of Graccho as were those of I, 1, the note upon which see.

III, 2, 65-9. "This speech has been 'conveyed' by Fletcher or his editor, into his excellent comedy of the *Elder Brother*: (IV, 2 (147a); a Fletcher scene).

'They look ruefully,
'As (if) they had newly come from a vaulting house,
'And had been quite shot through between wind and water
'By a she-Dunkirk, and had sprung a leak, sir.'

The meaning is sufficiently obvious."—Gifford.

In assigning the praise or the blame, however, we need to remember the following passage from *Philaster*, IV, 1 (40a). (Beaumont scene.)

"See how he sinks! the
wench has shot him between wind and water, and, I
hope, sprung a leak."

It was only necessary for Massinger to specify what kind of a ship was concerned. Some have also doubted that the *Elder Brother* is later than the *Duke of Milan*, but without very good reasons. The "spring a leak" figure is a slang phrase which occurs rather frequently in the works of the time, perhaps half-a-dozen times in *The Chances*. I have noted a few, I, 3 (496b); I, 6 (497a); II, 2 (501b); III, 2 (506b). In II, 2, the ship figure also occurs.

III, 2, 67. "she Dunckerke". The famous pirates and privateers of Dunkirk were coming in for a good share of trouble about this time. In the summer of 1622, two privateers were chased by Dutch men-of-war, the one into Aberdeen, the other to Leith. The captain pursuing the ship into Leith continued to fire after entering the harbor, even striking some of the houses in the town. The Dunkirk ships remained all winter watched by the Dutchmen. This situation caused a great deal of comment and protest.

It is possible that Massinger, having a ship-leak figure such as was pointed out for *Philaster* in the preceding note, localized the allusion to Dunkirk after these events in 1622. A confirming circumstance is the bad metrical arrangement of part of the section, for which see next note. The mistake in the phrase "wind and weather" for "wind and water", taken with the metrical trouble, is practically conclusive proof that the MS. was in a bad state at this place from rewriting.

III, 2, 68-9. Printed in quarto:

"Betweene winde and weather,
And he hath sprung a leake too, or I'me cousen'd."

I have accepted Gifford's rearrangement of these lines as they are roughly metrical.

The quarto reads "winde and weather", evidently for "winde and water". As "winde and weather" is a proverbial expression of the time, it is probable that Massinger or the printer inadvertently made the substitution.

III, 2, 84. Direction in margin opposite 85 and 86.

III, 2, 89. "Princes". This is an old spelling, though the usual form in this quarto is "Princesse". Cf. II, 1, 62.

III, 2, 97. "This will tempt me" is printed in the right margin, opposite the first and second half lines of 97. It does not fit into the metrical scheme and was probably so printed for that reason. In this, it is like the section inserted in III, 3, 44, only section III, 2, 97, is not necessary to the sense. As I admit the other, I must admit this, and it can be put in only one place. Gifford regards it as an "addition of the prompter, or an unnecessary interpolation of the copyist, which spoils the metre." It may be only an actor's "gag".

III, 2, 108. "My page waites in the lobbie, give him sweetmeats".
"I've sweet meat in my closet shall content him
Be his palate ne'er so curious".

Bond., I, 2 (101b).

III, 2, 116.

"That with an Iron pen is writ in brasse
On my tough hart".

This figure is repeated, V, 1, 83-4. See also V, 1, 137. Cf. *Bel.*, I, 1 (597b).

ACT III, SCENE 3

III, 3, Scene direction. Coxeter and Mason "Scene changes to an Apartment in the Palace". Gifford "Another Room in the same". I prefer Gifford's.

III, 3, 17. Note the dash over the "e", the old abbreviation for "m". This is its only occurrence in this play. It occurs occasionally in the manuscript of *Believe As Ye List*. It occurs also in other quartos, usually in a long line where space is necessary as here.

III, 3, 24. Q₁ has a period at the end of this line.

III, 3, 35-6. "but you must swear
By your unspotted truth".

Cf. *Bond.*, IV, 3 (123a).

III, 3, 40-48. "I have regulated this speech, which was exceedingly harsh and confused in all the printed copies, according to Massinger's manuscript corrections. The repetition must be attributed to the embarrassed state of Francisco's mind.

In the seventh line, the poet has altered *seal* of woman's goodness (the reading of all the copies) to *soul*."—Gifford.

III, 3, 95-6. "desire . . . have". Gifford prints "desires", but see note on I, 1, 66-8.

III, 3, 115. This reference to witch and witchcraft was far from a figure of speech to the Jacobean audience. H. D. Traill, *Social England*, Vol. IV, page 85, says: "With the accession of James a change came over the feeling of those in power. During the later years of Elizabeth tract after tract appeared, calling for severe punishment upon witches, but with no result: the English trials, up to now, had been characterised rather by folly than ferocity, the new rule was marked by ferocious folly. For forty years Scotland had been engaged in witch hunting with the result that 8,000 human beings are believed to have been burnt between 1560 and 1600; and for the last ten years of the century the king had been at the head of the hunt." Traill then gives an account of James's search for witches occasioned by the storm he had passed through on his return from Denmark, May, 1590. "Thirty of the accused were burnt alive on one day in 1591. . . . James himself wrote a work on Demonology against Scot and Wierus, a continental writer who had taken a fairly sensible view". A rigid act was passed in 1604 against witchcraft, prohibiting among other things the procuring of love, under which 70,000 persons were executed up to 1680. So the expression in this line and that in IV, 3, 164, are to be taken seriously. We may see from this how Massinger could make such use of the supernatural in the *Virgin Martyr* and of magic in the *Picture*.

III, 3, 140-1. The pointing of the modern editors, removing the comma after "Caesar" and placing a semicolon after "furie", slightly changes the reading of the original.

III, 3, 146. "it" for "yet" is a common misprint of the time (cf. *Gentleman Usher*, V, 3, 72), due usually to the fact that the contracted form of "yet" (y^t) is so much like "it". But Massinger does not use the contracted form in *Believe As Ye List* MS.

III, 3, 157. "heart-strings", cf. IV, 3, 316. "also the hart is bounde with certayne Ligamentes to the backe part of the brest, but these Lygamentes touche not the substaunce of the Hart, but in the ouerpart they spring fourth of him, and is fastened, as is aforesayed". (*The Anatomie of The Bodie of Man*, Thomas Vicary. Edition of 1548 as reissued in 1577.)

ACT IV, SCENE I

IV, 1, Scene direction. Coxeter and Mason, "An Apartment in the Palace". Gifford, "The same. A Room in the Castle." This scene may be in a room of the castle, but it might also be a street scene.

IV, 1, 5. It seems to have been hard for the printer to distinguish between "art" and "act", as he made just the opposite mistake in V, 2, 100. The two words would be easily confused in Massinger's writing. However, "acts" in the sense of "records" is barely possible here.

See note to *Thierry and Theodoret*, II, 1 (Dyce, 123), a Massinger

scene, where the same phrase "hidden acts" of the folios has been emended to "hidden arts".

IV, 1, 11. No punctuation at end of line in either quarto.

IV, 1, 50. The comma is often used to set off a noun clause. See Simpson, *Shakespearean Punctuation*, p. 41.

IV, 1, 108-9. "To try conclusions, a very common expression, is, to try experiments . . . commenced, and gone out, which occur in the next line, are University terms."—Gifford. Cf. *Emp.*, II, 1 (331a).

ACT IV, SCENE 2

IV, 2, Scene direction. Coxeter and Mason, "Scene changes to another Apartment". Gifford, "Another Room in the same". Either is correct, but Gifford's is preferable in statement.

IV, 2, 20. "Liverie Mistresses", "*transf.* [from livery horse], punk", *N. E. D.* Cf. *Very Woman*, II, 3 (504a).

IV, 2, 21. "The stallion of the State". Cf. *Thierry and Theodoret*, II, 2 (412a); *Monsieur D'Olive*, I, 1, 238. See *Guard.*, III, 6 (476b).

IV, 2, 23. Direction placed opposite 24 in quarto.

IV, 2, 24. "I should weare yellow breeches."

"For he that's jealous of his wife's being bad,
Must have his legs with yellow stockings clad."

Poor Robin, 1670.

(Lean's collectanea, II, 275.)

Cf. *Emp.*, IV, 5 (344b), "fatal yellow".

IV, 2, 25. "we know our exit". This has been changed by all the editors to "duty", although Gifford notes in his second edition (1813), "Massinger has made no alteration (in the autograph copy) here, so that *exit* is perhaps the genuine reading." I have no doubt that the quarto is correct, for Massinger, with the other writers of his time, often spoke in terms of the stage. The fact that "exit" is italicized in the second quarto is of little weight, since the quarto itself, as we have seen, is merely a reprint of the first, and this marking only shows the opinion of the second quarto's editor or printer. However, in a similar situation, *Pict.*, IV, 4 (312a), Baptista says "I know my duty".

IV, 2, 27. "hazard of a check". A repeated phrase. Cf. *Ren.*, IV, 3 (156b); *Emp.*, II, 1 (327b); *Fat. D.*, I, 1 (353a).

ACT IV, SCENE 3

IV, 3, Scene direction. Coxeter and Mason have no statement of scene here. Gifford, "Another Room in the same", which may or may not be correct, as there is no way of telling whether the room is the same or another. Certainly no distinction would have been made on the Elizabethan stage.

IV, 3, 30. I have inserted a necessary comma after "Shall".

IV, 3, 38. I have supplied the second half of the parenthesis after "reply" as it is found in the second quarto.

IV, 3, 88. While the quarto reading "winning" for "ioining" seems an impossible printer's error from modern handwriting, it is a very easy mistake in Massinger's. He makes the first part of his "w" taller than the rest and nearly closes the latter part, very closely resembling his "o". Thus "io" and "w" may readily be interchanged. The remaining parts of the two words differ only in the matter of single for double "n", a comparatively unimportant difference in the spelling of the time.

IV, 3, 95. "Thick skinn'd is the reading of both the quartos; the modern editors (C and M) . . . displaced it for thick-skull'd. It is not to want of understanding, but to a bluntness of feeling, that the speaker alludes."—Gifford.

The same adjective occurs, *Bond.*, III, 1 (113a).

IV, 3, 97-8.

"that must take physicke

From her young Doctor physicke upon her backe".

Repeated in *Bond.*, I, 2 (100a).

IV, 3, 98. "From her young doctor physick. The old copies had a break here to shew that the word was illegible at the press: Coxeter and M. Mason filled up the space with *and*. I chose rather to continue the break, in which the possessors of the first edition may now, if they please, insert the genuine word, which is taken from Massinger's corrected copy." Gifford.

IV, 3, 102. "Were I match'd to another Messaline". Cf. *P. L.*, I, 4 (167a); he uses the form Messalina, *Guard.*, III, 6 (476a).

The reference is to Valeria Messalina, third wife of the emperor Claudius I. "Her character is drawn in the darkest colours by the almost contemporary pencils of Tacitus (*Ann.*, XI, 1, 2, 12, 26-38) and the elder Pliny (*H. N.*, X, 63) by the satirist Juvenal (*Sat.*, VI, 115-135; X, 333-336; XIV, 331), who makes her the example of female profligacy and by the historian Dion Cassius (IX, 14-18, 27-31), who wrote long after any motive remained for exaggerating her crimes". (*Dictionary of Greek and Roman Biography*, Sir William Smith.) Messalina also appears in Suetonius *Claud.*, 17, 26, 27, 29, 36, 37, 39; Nero, 6; Vitell., 2; Seneca *Mort. Claud.*; Josephus *Antiq.*, XX, 881; *Bell.*, II, 1288.

Massinger would have had access to most of these, as many of them had been translated. But he probably used Lodge's Seneca (1614), if we may judge from the form of the name. In all the originals and translations which were listed above, the form of the name is Messalina. Says Justus Lipsius, whose comment Lodge is translating, in his argument prefixed to the book "Of consolation to Helvia", page 739: "This Booke was written during the time of his Exile, which was about the first yeare of Claudius Reigne . . . by the suggestion of impure Messalline. This publike Harlot objected against him that he had committed adultery with Julia Germanicus Daughter, and charged Seneca therewith. Of this have we spoken in his Life". In the life Chap. V, he speaks of "that impudent Harlot, (I mean Messaline) and that loathsome beast Claudius." Tone

and form point to this as Massinger's source. See note to I, 1, 59-60; III, 1, 219-20; V, 2, 227-8. He would have found from Lodge's translation of Josephus, which he probably used for the plot of his tragedy (*Antiq.*, XX, 5, page 521), "Claudius had before time put Messalina his wife to death, for the jealousy that hee had of her". Outside of Massinger, I have found two other allusions to this person in the drama of the time. *Four Plays in One, Triumph of Honor*, I, 1 (505a), has Messaline, *Valentinian*, IV, 1 (454b), has Messalina, both plays seemingly antedating Lodge's translation of Seneca.

IV, 3, 108. This direction was placed in margin opposite second half-line of 108 and first of 109.

IV, 3, 131. The metre requires "posterity", of which "posterie" is an obsolete form. See Glossary. "Posterie" is rare and early, the latest example quoted by the *New English Dictionary* being 1565.

IV, 3, 141-3. "To a Dutchman
This were enough, but to a right Italian,
A hundred thousand witnesses."

Cf. "I am no Italian,
To lock her up; nor would I be a Dutchman,
To have my wife my sovereign, to command me".
The Little French Lawyer, III, 1 (422a) (a Massinger scene).

This idea is given in full in *Barnavelte*, II, 2 (a Fletcher scene), where the Spanish and Italian methods of dealing with a wife are used in contrast to the Dutchman's unsuspecting subjection.

IV, 3, 143-4

"Would you have us
To be her bawdes?"

I have rearranged on metrical grounds, as the quarto reading gives two irregular lines, this gives two fairly regular. A four-foot line is rare in Massinger, one in this play, I, 1, 93.

IV, 3, 187. "Cut off my nose and eares". Such punishment was not infrequent in Massinger's day. A famous case is that of Jonson and Chapman. According to Drummond (*Ben Jonson's Conversations*, p. 20. *Shakespeare Society Publications*, Vol. VIII) "He (Jonson) was dilated by Sir James Murray to the King, for writting something against the Scots in Eastward Hoe, and voluntarily imprisoned himself with Chapman and Marston, who had written it amongst them. The report was that they should then [have] had their ears cut and noses."

IV, 3, 190. "Mulct, n. ¶ Misused by Massinger for: A blemish. Cf. quot 1619, which Massinger has unintelligently imitated. 1619. Fletcher, etc., *Knt. Malta*, III, 3 (142a), 'chastity that lodges in deformity, appears rather/A mulct impos'd by nature, then a blessing!' *N. E. D.* The scene in which the quoted expression occurs is given by Boyle, Oliphant, Bullen, and Fleay to Massinger. He has used the same expression here. Therefore, he has not unintelligently imitated Fletcher, but has merely repeatead

his own figure of speech, often in later examples in elliptic form. Cf. *M. H.*, I, 2 (258b); *U. C.*, IV, 1 (54a); *Emp.*, IV, 5 (344a); in participial form, *Bond.*, V, 3 (130a); *R. A.*, I, 3 (198b).

IV, 3, 234-5. "but like a village nurse
Stand I now cursing".

Cf. "Village nurses
Revenge their wrongs with curses".
N. W., V, 1 (420b).

For the same idea, see *Ren.*, I, 1 (134b); and the same general idea, *U. C.*, V, 2 (63a).

IV, 3, 262. "This walking tree of Jealousie".
Cf. "Green indeed is the colour of lovers".

L. L. Lost, I, 2, 91.

IV, 3, 270. As the meter seems to indicate, this is possibly the rare variant "impudencie", meaning shamelessness, immodesty, from which the printer dropped the "i", giving the regular form.

Cf. Jonson's *Every Man in his Humor*

"I warrant thee he will do it of himself with much impudency".
III, 4.

"Out on thee, more than strumpet's impudency."

V, 1.

IV, 3, 291. The direction "*Ex. Steph*" stood at the end of the line.

IV, 3, 298. As here, the vocative often was not set off by commas. See Simpson, *Shakespearean Punctuation*, p. 21.

ACT V, SCENE 1

V, 1, Stage direction. Coxeter and Mason, "Out of the Dutchy of Milan". Gifford, "The Milanese. A Room in Eugenia's House". The scene is not at court, is probably in the Dutchy of Milan (121-128), and is probably in Eugenia's house; but we can not fix the place more definitely.

V, 1. With the first part of this scene, compare the breaking of somewhat similar news by Abdella to Mountferrat, Act IV, Scene 1, *Knight of Malta*. Boyle, Oliphant, Bullen, Fleay, and Macaulay (with a question) assign this scene to Massinger.

V, 1, 11. The "an" inserted by editors is not needed for the sense and spoils the rhythm. The line lacks the opening unstressed syllable, to some extent supplied by the feminine ending of the preceding line.

V, 1, 39. "virgin fort". This phrase is repeated in *R. A.*, I, 2 (196b). The same figure occurs, *Pict.*, I, 1 (286b); III, 1 (299a); cf. "virgin flower" *N. W.*, V, 1 (416b).

V, 1, 48. I substitute punctuation of Q₃. None in Q₁.

V, 1, 73-4. This is the only instance of rhyming lines in this play that occurs within a speech. This was probably unintentional, as in his unassisted work Massinger uses rhymes usually only to mark exits.

V, 1, 80. "but poure oyle on fire". Cf. *Virg.*, I, 1 (2b); *U. C.*, II, 3 (46a).

V, 1, 127. "let us then turne Romanes". A frequent expression of the time for committing suicide. Cf. *M. H.*, IV, 3 (274a).

V, 1, 156. No comma to separate vocative in either quarto, in accordance with the punctuation of the time. See Simpson, *Shakespearean Punctuation*, pp. 20-22.

V, 1, 162. "In the devils name". This phrase is omitted from the second quarto (1638); Gifford thinks because of the licenser.

The expression occurs in the *Unnatural Combat*, V, 2 (63a), published 1639, and also before in this play, III, 1, 105, where it could not be omitted without spoiling the entire speech.

The authorities had become very strict in such matters by this time. Says Sir Henry Herbert, January 9, 1633, "The kinge is pleasd to take *faith, death, slight*, for asseverations, and no oaths, to which I doe humbly submit as my master's judgment; but under favour conceive them to be oaths, and enter them here, to declare my opinion and submission". (Malone, 3, 235).

"The Master's condemnation of oaths extended over printed plays as well as stage presentations. It is worth while to glance at his activity in this line during these years. Since the passage of the statute of 1606 such expurgation had been attended to with more or less rigor. Later editions of plays originally printed before the statute, frequently show reformations of this sort. The Jonson Folio of 1616, for example, exhibits such substitutions as 'Believe me' for 'By Jesu'. Later reissues of plays often show still more rigorous emendations. Herbert's energy in eliminating oaths seems, during part of his administration at least, to have been applied vigorously to the press. Interesting examples of his very fussy alterations in this line may be seen in the fourth quarto of *Philaster*, published in 1634." (*Government Regulation of the Elizabethan Drama*, U. V. Gildersleeve, p. 128.)

It is possible, then, that Herbert struck this out, overlooking the first. This same asseveration occurs in III, 3 (169a), of the *Spanish Curate* (1622), a scene given by Boyle, Oliphant, Fleay and Macaulay to Mas-singer.

V, 1, 165. See note to V, 1, 156.

V, 1, 181. Direction in margin opposite lines 179-80.

ACT V, SCENE 2

V, 2, Scene direction. Coxeter and Mason, "An inner Apartment in the Palace". Gifford, "Milan. A Room in the Castle". Either is correct but Gifford's is preferable in statement.

V, 2, 45. The mark of punctuation after "since" is blurred, but is probably a dash as in the second quarto, though it may have been a period. Both marks have been used under like circumstances; the dash once, II, 1, 288, and is used again V, 2, 73, 264; the period in most other

cases. Cf. IV, 2, 240; V, 2, 130. The comma is used once V, 2, 218. Each of the three methods was common at the time. See P. Simpson's *Shakespearean Punctuation*, sections 9, 36.

V, 2, 45. The direction "within" is printed in the quarto in the right margin opposite this line.

V, 2, 47, Stage direction. Cf. "Enter Soldiers Wth The Ladye ii Musick They bringe . . . kisses the hande A song within in Voyces."

The Second Maiden's Tragedy, 1611, V, 2. (*Malone Society Reprints*, 1909, p. 70.)

This directions shows how the present action was probably carried out. See Introduction, Borrowing from Second Maiden's Tragedy.

V, 2, 50-52.

"your great master

(Who ioyn'd the limbes of torn Hyppolytus
And drew upon himselfe the Thunderers envie)".

Cf. "And he, that join'd again the scatter'd limbs
Of torn Hippolytus, should be forgotten".

Custom of the Country, II, I (111b).

A Massinger scene according to Boyle, Oliphant, Fleay, and Macaulay. Cf. *Very Woman*, II, 2 (500a).

"Above the art of Aesculapius,
That drew the envy of the thunderer".

Jonson, *Al.*, IV, I 49a (1897).

Massinger seems to have borrowed this expression of Jonson.

V, 2, 58-9. "The saints will smile to looke on, & good Angels
Clap their Celestiall wings to give it plaudits."

Cf. *M. H.*, V, I (279b).

It seems probable that Massinger got this figure from Tourneur:

"O angels, clap your wings upon the skies.
And give this virgin crystal plaudites".

Revenger's Tragedy, II, I (38).

V, 2, 82. The first quarto has an apostrophe after "till", a printer's error.

V, 2, 82. "great worke be ended". Cf. *U. C.*, III, 2 (50a); *Bond.*, IV, 2 (120b); *M. H.*, V, 2 (280b); *Guard.*, I, I (460b).

V, 2, 88. The first quarto prints "Li'ke", an evident printer's error.

V, 2, 93. "make" and "wake" would be easily mistaken as "m" and "w" considerably resemble each other in Massinger's writing.

V, 2, 100. "art" for "act". Cf. note on IV, I, 5.

V, 2, 102. The printer was probably influenced by the "with" in the succeeding line. The reading of "with" seems to have been a personal peculiarity of his. Cf. III, 3, 56; V, 2, 240.

V, 2, 103. From this to the end of the play, with one exception, line 168, the first quarto prints *Forza*.

V, 2, 111. "looke life". The context shows that this must have been intended for "tooke life", as the second quarto reads. This is paralleled in *Bond.*, II, 1 (107a).

"And the least spark of honor that took life
From your sweet breath".

V, 2, 128. This is a version of the revolting "carbonado" figure so frequent with writers of the time.

Cf. "And, if that I were hungry, I might freely
Eat mine own carbonadoes, and be chronicled
For a cannibal never read of!"

Bel., IV, 3 (618a, b).

Cf. *Bond.*, III, 3 (115b).

V, 2, 137. "Which in his death will quickly be discover'd". This passage seems to mean "Which will quickly cause his death when it is discovered". No mark of punctuation at end of line.

V, 2, 140. Direction stood in the quarto opposite second half-line of 140.

V, 2, 140-1. "I am no God sir,
To give a new life to her".

Cf. "We are no gods, sir,
If she be dead, to make her new again".

Valentinian, IV, 1 (454a) (Fletcher).

V, 2, 159. "From whence". Note the redundant "from" which was common in Massinger's time.

V, 2, 171. The contraction "pleasd'" is what we would expect judging by the manuscript of *Believe As Ye List*, since the past tense is regularly spelled "de" there. From the changes in forms of contraction, this section of the quarto would seem to have been set by a different man. Cf. 192 "disdaind'". See the note on V, 2, 103, for the mistaken printing of Sforza's name, also note the number of printer's errors from about line 100 to the end.

V, 2, 180. Gifford is probably right in substituting "studied" for "studies" as the former fits the connection better and on the whole seems more Massingerian.

V, 2, 207. "Tis wondrous strange". Cf. "O day and night, but this is wondrous strange".—*Hamlet*, I, 5, 164.

Massinger uses this expression rather frequently. Cf. *Bond.*, V, 3 (129a); *Emp.*, IV, 5 (345a).

V, 2, 217-8. Coxeter, followed by Mason and Gifford, removed "can keepe" from the end of 217 to beginning of 218. There is a line with an extra foot even with this. Therefore I prefer to keep it with 217 as does the quarto.

V, 2, 223-5. Rearranged. Stood in quarto:
"Francisco that was rais'd by you,

And made the Minion of the time
The same Francisco, That would have whor'd this trunke
when it had life,"

I have rearranged this on metrical grounds following Coxeter, Mason, and Gifford.

V, 2, 227-8.

"As killing as those damps that belch out plagues,
When the foundation of the earth is shaken".

"We have said that after great Earthquakes, there ordinarily followeth a pestilence: neither is this to be wondered at, because many pestilent things lye hidden in the depth. The Aire it selfe, that is imprisoned in eternall obscurity, either by the intermission of the Earth, by his owne idlenesse, is pernicious unto those that suck the same: either being corrupted by the malignitie of hidden fires, when it is sent from a farre off, it soileth and infecteth the other Aire which is pure, and breedeth new sicknesses in them who breath the same, whereunto they have not been accustomed. Furthermore, there are certaine unprofitable and pestilent waters, hidden in the hollowes and secrets of the earth, and the cause why they are such is, because they have neither flux nor reflux, nor are beat upon by any freer wind. Being then thus thick and covered with an obscure myst they have nothing in them that is not pestilent, and contrary to our bodies. The Aire likewise that is intermixed with them, and that lyeth amidst those Marishes when it raiseth it selfe, spreadeth a generall corruption, and killeth those that draw the same."

"But when it (venomous vapor) hath gotten an issue, it spreadeth that eternall venome which it hath gathered in a duskie colde, and infernall night, & infecteth the aire of our region. For the best are over-come by the worst. Then likewise that pure aire is translated and changed into evill: whence proceed sodain and continuall death, & monstrous sicknesses, as proceeding from new causes. The contagion continueth more or lesse, according to the continuance & vehemencie of the earthquake and ceaseth not untill the spacious extent of the heavens, and the agitation of the windes hath dissipated those venemous vapours".

Lodge's Seneca, 1620, pages 882-3, chapters XXVII, XXVIII.

V, 2, 233-4. Is Eugenia represented as being prematurely withered by sorrow, or shall we take this as merely figurative language?

Cf. *Emp.*, V, 3 (350a).

V, 2, 240. "In this cup". "In the lips of Marcellia".—Gifford.

V, 2, 245-6. "feele an Aetna". Aetna figures frequently in poison scenes of the time. Cf. *Valentinian*, V, 1 (461a). *Wife for a Month*, IV, 4 (584a). For the same expression applied to anger cf. *Virg.*, III, 2, (18b).

V, 2, 264. Notice the speech broken off in death. The author of the time usually let his character finish his speech before he killed him, but see the death of Hotspur, *Hen.*, IV; V, 4, 86, for the same thing.

V, 2, 268-9.

“And learne from this example, ther’s no trust
In a foundation that is built on lust”.

This is Massinger’s characteristic tag, pointing the moral of the play. Lust as a foundation of love cannot be trusted. Marcella reproved Sforza for being too great a doater on those pleasures that Hymen warranted them, III, 3, 125-131. Because of his passion and consequent jealousy, he brought his great catastrophe upon himself and his death results from his lust before marriage. Thus Massinger traces the troubles of the play back to one source, Sforza’s lustful love.

The moral tag occurs in stated form, *U. C.*; *R. A.*; *M. H.*; *Pict.*; *Cit.*; *Bash.*; *Bel.* In most of his other plays there is a strong pointing toward it in the final speeches.

V, 2, end. “The Duke of Milan has more substantial connexion with the Picture than with Othello. In his uxoriousness,—his doating entreaties of his wife’s favours,—his abject requests of the mediation of others for him, &c. &c. Sforza strongly resembles Ladislaus; while the friendly and bold reproofs of his fondness by Pescara and Stephano prepare us for the rebukes afterwards employed against the same failing by the intrepid kindness of Eubulus. And not only do we find this similarity in some of the leading sentiments of the two plays, but occasionally the very language of the one is carried into the other.”—Gifford.

APPENDIX I

PRINTERS AND PUBLISHERS OF THE QUARTOS

The men connected with the first quarto were Edward Blackmore and George Norton as publishers and Bernard Alsop as printer; those with the second were Edward Blackmore publisher and John Raworth printer. I give a short account of each, from the Stationers' Register, in the order named.

Edward Blackmore took up his freedom April 3, 1615. First publication registered May 5, 1618. Published from 1618 to 1658. Died September 8, 1658. He, in partnership with John Harrison, owned the *Bondman* (1624) also.

George Norton was the son of Robert Norton of Helmdon in the county of Northampton, yeoman. He was apprenticed to Thomas Man citizen and stationer of London for seven years 6 September, 1602, took up his freedom 4 December, 1609, registered his first publication 4 July, 1610. The Stationers' Register records the transfer of three books by him, first on 12 May, 1619; second, his share of the *Duke of Milan*, 5 May, 1623; third, 23 November, 1623. It may be, therefore, that he sold his interest in the *Duke of Milan* because he was going out of business about that time. Published from 1610 to 1623, according to Arber.

"B. A. for *Edward Blackmore* . . . 1623." Fleay says "B. A[llot] for E. Blackmore 1638." The date is incorrect as John Raworth printed the quarto of 1638. The name is incorrect also, as the earliest Allot to appear in the Stationers' Register was Robert, who published only, according to Arber, from 1626 to 1635. The reference, then, is not to Allot. The *Roman Actor* shows this conclusively, and shows just as conclusively who B. A. was. It was "Printed by B. A. and T. F. for Robert Allot" 1629. Now B. A. and T. F. are the partners, Bernard Alsop and Thomas Fosset. B. A. and T. F. also printed the 1631 quarto of the *Virgin Martyr*.

Bernard Alsop was apprenticed to Humfrey Lypenny 25 December, 1601, for the term of eight years; transferred to Wil-

liam White 7 June, 1603; took up his freedom February 7, 1610; registered his first publication 5 March, 1618; took Thomas Fosset as his partner, according to Arber by 1620 when they bought out Thomas Creed. Also printed and published 1616 to about 1650. According to H. R. Plomer (*A Dictionary of the Booksellers and Printers Who Were at Work in England, Scotland and Ireland from 1641 to 1667*) Also was the partner of Thomas Creed in 1616, who either retired or died in the succeeding year, and "nine years later he entered into partnership with Thomas Fawcett, or Forsett." Plomer is probably right, as Fosset's name does not appear in the *Duke of Milan* 1623.

John Raworth took up his freedom February 6, 1632. Printed and published from 1635 to 1645. In Sir John Lambe's list of Printers [S. R. IV, 528] to be included in the Star Chamber Decree we find: "21 John Raworth is said to be an honest man and may come in in steed of his father Richard Raworth yat is an arrant knave". Accordingly, he was made one of the twenty Master Printers in the Star Chamber decree of July 11, 1637. [S. R. IV, 532.]

To these may be added a short account of Anthony Gilmyrn, on whose authority, together with that of Sir John Ashley, the play was printed.

Anthony Gilmyrn had three terms as warden, the term being one year; first beginning 8 July, 1618; second 9 July, 1622; third 9 July, 1625. Since he is associated with Ashley, and since the *Duke of Milan* was licensed 20 January, 1623, it was in his second term. Son of Richard Gilmyrn of Blenchingley in the county of Surrey, gent., apprenticed to Robert Walley citizen and "staconer" of London for the term of eight years 1 November, 1587, took up freedom 15 May, 1601, admitted to livery of company 2 July, 1603, first registered publication 29 August, 1618.

APPENDIX II

A Newyeares Guift presented to my
Lady and M^{rs} the then Lady
Katherine Stanhop now Countesse
of Chesterfield.

By Phill: Messinger.

Madame

Before I ow'd to you the name
Of Seruant, to your birth, your worth your fame
I was soe, and t'was fitt since all stand bound
To honour Vertue in meane persons found
Much more in you, that as borne great, are good
W^{ch} is more then to come of noble blood
Or be A Hastings; it being too well knowne
An Emperesse cannot challenge as her owne
Her Grandsire's glories; And too many staine
Wth their bad Actions the noble straine
From whence they come, But as in you to be
A branch to add fresh honor to the tree
By vertue planted, and adorne it new
Is graunted vnto none or very few
To speake you further would appeare in me
Presumption or a seruants flattery
But there may be a tyme when I shall dare
To tell the world and boldly what y^u are
Nor sleight it Madame, since what some in me
Esteeme a blemish, is a guift as free
As their best fortunes. this took from the graue
Penelopies chastitie, and to it gaue
Still liuing Honors; this made Aiax strong
Vlisses wise: such power lies in a Song
W^{ch} Phoebus smiles on w^{ch} can find no vrne
While the Sea his course, or starres obserue their turne
Yet t'is not in the power of tinckling Rime
That takes rash iudgments and deceiue[s] the tyme

Wth Mountebanke shows a worke that should indure
Must haue a Genius in it, strong, as pure
But you beginne to smile, as wondring why
I should write thus much to y^u now since I
Haue heretofore been silent may y^u please
To know the cause it is noe new disease
Growne in my iudgment, nor am I of those
That thinke good wishes cannot thriue in prose
Aswell as verse: but that this Newyeares day
All in their loues and duties, what they may
Present vnto you; though perhaps some burne
Wth expectation of a glad returne
• Of what they venture for: But such I leaue
To their deceptfull guifts giuen to deceiue
What I giue I am rich in, and can spare
Nor part for hope wth ought deserues my care
He that hath little and giues nought at all
To them that haue is truly liberall.

Athenæum, July–December, 1906, p. 273.

GLOSSARY

This glossary is intended to include all words or constructions that need explanation, either from being obsolete, archaic or peculiar in any other way. I have used the New English Dictionary from the beginning through "Spring", and the sections Su-Subterranean, T-Trinity. For words not included in these sections, I have used the Century Dictionary principally. Abbreviations and symbols are those of the N. E. D.

References without title are to the *Duke of Milan*. References to other plays give act, scene and page in Cunningham's edition. Title abbreviations are evident.

- Accent, *sb. poet.* A word. I, 3, 340.
Act, *v.* To do, perform. V, 2, 16.
Act, *sb.* Action, operation. *Arch.* Or a state of accomplished fact or reality as distinguished from intention, possibility, etc. *Obs.* I, 3, 259; IV, 3, 247.
Admiration, *sb.* Wonder, astonishment. *Arch.* I, 3, 37.
Admire, *v.* To wonder or marvel at. *Arch.* III, 1, 70.
Admit, *v. trans.* Be capable of. *Obs.* or *Arch.* Now with *of.* I, 3, 255.
Affright, *sb.* A cause or source of terror. *Arch.* I, 1, 48.
Agaïne, *adv.* In return. *Obs.* or *Arch.* I, 3, 347.
Ague, *sb.* An acute or violent fever. *Obs.* IV, 1, 78.
Allay, *sb.* Check, stoppage, retardment. *Obs.* I, 3, 84.
Amazement, *sb.* Mental stupefaction, frenzy. *Obs.* III, 3, 137.
An, *conj.* = if. *Arch.* and *dial.* III, 1, 196.
Angel, *sb.* An old English gold coin, called more fully at first the Angel-Noble, having as its device the archangel Michael standing upon, and piercing the dragon. In 6 Edw. VI it was 10s.; it was last coined by Charles I. III, 2, 24.
Answer, *v. trans.* To atone for, make amends, suffer the consequences, especially with *it* as object. *Obs.* II, 1, 239; IV, 3, 81.
Anticke, *sb.* A grotesque pageant or theatrical presentation. *Obs.* II, 1, 128.
Approch, *sb.* Power of approaching, access. *Arch.* III, 2, 118.
Approve, *v.* Prove. *Obs.* IV, 1, 11.
Argue, *v.* To convict. *Obs.* I, 1, 105. Cf. D. F. II, 3, (233a); IV, 1 (241b); M. H. I, 2 (258a); Emp. V, 1 (347b).
Argument, *sb.* Theme, subject. *Obs.* or *Arch.* IV, 1, 16.

As, adv. With finite verb: With the result that. *Obs.* and replaced by *so that*. III, 1, 194.

Ashes, *sb.* commonly in plural. *poet.* for "mortal remains, buried corpse". II, 1, 385; V, 2, 261.

Aspéct, *sb.* The regular accentuation. V, 2, 74. Cf. Bond. I, 1 (99b), etc.

Atome, *sb.* A mote in the sunbeam. *Arch.* or *Obs.* I, 3, 192. Cf. Emp. IV, 5 (345b); V, 2 (349b).

Attempt, *sb.* Construction of. *Obs.* IV, 2, 32.

Attend, *v.* To wait for, await: A person or agent or his coming. *Obs.* IV, 3, 167.

Attonement, *sb.* Reconciliation. *Obs.* IV, 3, 61. Cf. M. H. V, 2 (282b); Bash. III, 3 (543b).

Author, *sb.* The prompter or mover of an action. *Obs.* I, 3, 312.

Averse, *a.* Of opposed nature, adverse. *Obs.* II, 1, 360.

Bait, *v. fig.* To cause (a person) to be molested, harassed, or persecuted. II, 1, 219.

Battailes, *sb.* Obsolete form of battles. Battalion. *Arch.* I, 3, 89.

Before, *conj.* Originally with that, now *arch.* IV, 3, 309.

Beleeve, *v.* To accept a thing as authentic. *Obs.* III, 3, 1.

Bent, *ppl. a.* Phrase *To be bent*. Const. (*arch.*) *to do* (something). IV, 1, 57.

BlaspHEME, *v. intr.* To rail, to utter words of abuse. *Obs.* IV, 3, 125.

Blasphemy, *sb.* Slander, evil speaking, defamation. *Obs.* I, 3, 327.

Bountie, *sb.* Kindness, beneficence. *Obs.* III, 3, 55; IV, 3, 43. In plural, virtues, excellencies. *Obs.* I, 3, 298.

Brave, *a.* 'Capital', 'fine'. *Arch.* III, 2, 110.

Bring, *v.* Phr. *Bring on*. Lead forward, conduct. *Obs.* IV, 1, 99.

Brokage, *sb.* Pimping. Or corrupt farming of offices. *Obs.* III, 2, 11. Cf. Bond., II, 3 (111b); Emp. I, 2 (326a).

Brooke, *v.* To endure, tolerate. Now only in negative or preclusive constructions. I, 1, 121.

Búffon, *sb.* A jester, fool. *Arch.* I, 1, 36. Cf. P. L. III, 1 (176a).

Burthen, *sb.* Prevalent form is now burden, but burthen is still often retained for 'capacity of a ship' and also as a poetic or rhetorical archaism in other senses. III, 3, 33.

But, *adv.* Phr. *but now* = just now, only this moment. *Obs.* IV, 3, 296.

Phr. *but only*. But was strengthened by *only*. *Obs.* IV, 2, 44.

Cabinet, Phr. "*cabinet counsel* = counsel given privately or secretly in the cabinet or private apartment" (N. E. D. which quotes this passage as an example).

However, I prefer to take counsel here in its sense of a secret as in III, 1, 62, and read secrets of the cabinet or private apartment. II, 1, 7.

Call, *v.* With prep. on, *trans. fig.* Bring on. *Obs.* IV, 3, 245; V, 1, 28; V, 2, 104. Cf. Bond., III, 3 (117b).

- Carreer, *sb. fig.* Formerly, the height, 'full swing' of a person's activity. II, 1, 321.
- Carry, *v.* To conduct, manage. *Arch.* II, 1, 308; V, 1, 185.
- Carve, *v.* To apportion at discretion, to take at one's pleasure. III, 1, 18.
- Cast, *ppl. a.* Cashiered, discarded. IV, 1, 10.
- Catch, *sb.* Music. Originally, a short composition for three or more voices. I, 1, 16.
- Cate, *sb. pl.* Victuals, food. ?*Obs.* I, 3, 77.
- Challenge, *v.* To demand as a right. *Arch.* or *Obs.* I, 2, 8.
- Change, *v.* Exchange, now the ordinary prose word for this, but 'change' is still in *dial. arch.* and *poet.* use. IV, 2, 39.
- Charge, *sb.* Expense, cost. *Arch.* II, 1, 170; III, 1, 12. *To be at charge:* to undergo expense. *Obs.* V, 2, 195.
- Check, *sb.* A reproof, reprimand, rebuke. *Obs.* except *dial.* IV, 2, 27.
- Chirurgion, *sb.* Surgeon. *Arch.* III, 2, 8.
- Chuffe, *sb.* A miser, a close avaricious man, a term of opprobrium. III, 1, 22.
- Circumstance, *sb.* Circumlocution, beating about the bush. *Arch.* II, 1, 278.
- Cleare, *adv.* Completely, entirely = clean *adv.* *Obs.* III, 2, 43.
- Cleer, *v.* Reflexive (= myself). Now chiefly *arch.* and *poet.* IV, 3, 299.
- Closet, *sb.* Place of private devotion. *Arch.* I, 3, 223.
- Commence, *v.* To take the full degree of Master or Doctor in any faculty of a University. IV, 1, 109.
- Conclude, *v.* To demonstrate, prove. *Obs.* I, 1, 87.
- Condition, *sb.* Nature. *Obs.* II, 1, 334.
- Confirm, *v.* To establish firmly. I, 1, 53.
- To encourage, strengthen. I, 3, 303.
- Refl.* and *pass.* To be firmly resolved. *Obs.* I, 3, 322.
- Conformable, *a. spec.* in Eng. Hist. conforming to the usages of the Church of England, especially as prescribed by the Acts of Uniformity. III, 2, 26.
- Confusion, *sb.* Ruin, destruction. ?*Obs.* III, 1, 112.
- Conjuration, *sb.* Solemn appeal or entreaty, adjuration. *Arch.* or *Obs.* I, 3, 334.
- Converse, *sb.* Intercourse = conversation. *Obs.* V, 2, 25.
- Córrupt, *a.* The regular accentuation. III, 2, 7. Cf. *Fat. D. I, 2* (357b).
- Cost, *sb.* Outlay, expense. *Obs.* I, 1, 125; I, 3, 2.
- Councill, *sb.* A secret. *Obs.* III, 1, 62; IV, 1, 106; IV, 1, 114. Cf. II, 1, 7.
- Courses, *sb. pl.* Ways of action, proceedings, personal conduct or behavior, especially of a reprehensible kind. *Arch.* IV, 1, 103.
- Courtship, *sb.* The paying of ceremonial or complimentary acts of courtesy to a dignitary. *Obs.* III, 2, 121.

- Courtcraft, diplomacy. *Obs.* IV, 1, 4.
- Cracke, *v. intr.* To snap or split asunder. *Obs.* III, 3, 157.
- Credulous, *a.* Believed too readily. *Obs. rare.* V, 1, 13.
- Crosse, *v.* Contradict. *Obs.* IV, 3, 56.
- Deadly, *adv.* Fatally, to death. *Obs.* I, 1, 61.
- Death, *sb.* Phr. *to the death*, formerly interchanged with *to death* in all senses, does not do so now. I, 3, 154.
- Deerely, *adv.* Deeply, keenly. *Obs.* V, 1, 56.
- Deformity, *sb. fig.* A moral disfigurement. IV, 3, 189.
- Deject, *v. fig.* To abase, humble. *Obs.* IV, 3, 30.
- Deliver, *v.* To communicate, make known. *Obs.* I, 1, 45.
- Deny, *v.* To refuse to take or accept. *Obs.* IV, 2, 68.
- To refuse admittance to. *Obs.* V, 1, 97.
- Depose, *v. pass.* To give evidence. *Obs.* IV, 1, 95.
- Deprave, *v.* To villify, defame, disparage. *Obs.* IV, 3, 154.
- Deserve, *v.* To pay back, requite. *Obs.* IV, 1, 61.
- trans.* Earn, win. *Obs.* IV, 2, 11.
- Determine, *v.* Const. of. *Obs.* V, 2, 267.
- Discourse, *sb.* The faculty of conversing, conversational power. *Obs.* IV, 3, 195.
- Talk, conversation. *Arch.* IV, 2, 53.
- Discover, *v.* To reveal, make known. *Arch.* I, 3, 376; IV, 1, 110; IV, 3, 222.
- Dispatch, *v.* To make haste, be quick. *Obs.* or *arch.* V, 1, 164.
- Disperse, *v. refl.* To diffuse, disseminate. *Obs.* III, 3, 84.
- Dispose, *v.* Bestow, dispense. *Obs.* IV, 3, 43.
- Dissolve, *v.* To solve, explain. *Arch.* IV, 3, 200.
- Distaste, *sb.* Annoyance, discomfort. *Obs.* II, 1, 196.
- Distemper, *v.* To intoxicate. *Obs.* I, 1, 18. Cf. G. D. IV, 2 (245b).
- Distraction, *sb.* Mental derangement, madness. *Obs.* in its full sense. V, 2, 8. Cf. New Way V, 1 (420b).
- Dittie, *sb.* A song; now a short simple song. I, 3, 80; II, 1, 51.
- Domesticall, *a.* Domestic. (Much used in 16th-17th c.) *Obs.* I, 3, 261.
- Dote, *v.* Const. of. *Obs. rare.* III, 2, 38.
- Doter, *sb.* Const. of. *Obs. rare.* III, 3, 127.
- Doubt, *v.* To suspect, have suspicions about. *Arch.* IV, 2, 52.
- Doubtfull, *a.* Apprehensive. *Obs.* IV, 1, 77.
- Draw, *v.* To lead, bring. *Obs.* I, 1, 80.
- Ducat, *sb.* Applied to a silver coin of Italy, value about 3s 6d. II, 1, 134; II, 1, 178.
- Dunckerke, *sb.* A privateer of Dunkirk. *Obs.* III, 2, 67.
- Elements, *sb.* Originally the four elements, earth, water, air, and fire. Now merely as a matter of traditional custom. V, 2, 179.
- Else, *adv.* Besides. Formerly common; now only *poet.* or *arch.* IV, 3, 38; IV, 3, 92.
- End, *v. colloquial.* To end up, to issue or result in. I, 3, 36; III, 3, 37.

- Enforce, *v. trans.* To drive by force. I, 3, 30; I, 3, 90.
- Enjoy, *v.* To have one's will of a woman. II, 1, 283; III, 3, 41.
- Entertain, *v.* Deal with, treat. *Obs.* II, 1, 297.
To occupy, fill up, wile away. *Obs.* IV, 3, 2.
To receive. *Obs.* V, 1, 30; V, 1, 34.
- Entertainment, *sb.* Pay, wages. *Obs.* III, 1, 23.
Treatment. *Obs.* III, 2, 105; III, 3, 66.
- Envie, *sb.* Wish, desire, longing. *Obs.* III, 3, 63.
Ill will, enmity. *Obs.* V, 1, 53.
- Equall, *a.* Fair, impartial. *Obs.* II, 1, 207. Cf. U. C. I, 1 (37a).
- Equall, *quasi-adv.* Equally. *Obs.* II, 1, 412.
- Ere, *conj.* Before. *Arch. and dial.* III, 1, 65; IV, 3, 68.
- Estate, *sb.* State or condition in general. *Arch.*; now almost exclusively in Biblical phrases. I, 3, 95.
Property, possessions. *Arch.* in general sense. I, 3, 183.
- Esteeme, *v.* To think much of, regard as important. *Obs.* V, 2, 238.
- Esteeme, *sb.* Estimation, opinion. Somewhat *Arch.* IV, 3, 57.
- Ever, *adv.* Always. *Arch. or literary north. dial.* I, 3, 271; III, 1, 124; V, 2, 210.
- Exceed, *v.* To go too far, to break out. *Obs.* IV, 3, 251.
- Excellence, *sb.* Excellency, a title of honor. *Obs.* I, 3, 28; II, 1, 203; IV, 2, 5; IV, 3, 3.
- Excellent, *a.* A title of address. *Obs.* I, 3, 108.
- Expect, *v. trans.* To wait for, await. *Obs.* II, 1, 424; V, 2, 134.
With indirect question as object: To wait to see or know. *Obs.* or *Arch.* III, 3, 92.
- Expresse, *v.* To give an account of, describe. *Obs.* IV, 3, 226.
- Extreames, *sb. pl.* Extremities, straits. *Obs.* V, 1, 114.
- Fact, *sb.* Actual guilt, a crime. *Obs.* IV, 3, 253; V, 2, 73.
- Faire, *sb.* One of the fair sex, a woman. Now *arch. or poet.* V, 1, 7; V, 2, 178.
Faire, adv. Auspiciously, favorably. *Obs.* I, 1, 78.
Faire, a. Considerable, 'handsome', liberal. *Obs.* I, 3, 15.
- Fall, *v.* With prep. *from.* To forsake, drop away from. *Obs.* II, 1, 322.
Phr. *to fall in.* To occur to. *Obs.* V, 1, 116.
- Falshood, *sb.* Falseness, faithfulness. *Obs.* IV, 3, 292; V, 1, 44; V, 2, 237.
- Fame, *sb.* Quasi personified. Rumor. Now *rare.* I, 3, 243.
Common talk, report. Now *rare.* IV, 3, 136.
- Favor, *sb.* The action of favoring. *Obs.* III, 2, 115.
- Feed, *v. intr.* To eat. Of persons now only colloquial. Construction *on.* I, 3, 76.
- Felicite, *sb.* Happiness. (in modern use with stronger sense, intense happiness). II, 1, 337.
- Fie, *excl.* Expresses disgust or indignant reproach. No longer current in dignified language. I, 1, 31; II, 1, 61.

- Find, *v.* Find out. *Obs.* IV, 2, 37.
- Fit, *v.* To punish. *Obs.* except Australian. III, 2, 58.
- Fit, *sb. spec.* A paroxysm of lunacy (formerly viewed as a periodic disease). V, 2, 43.
- Fix, *v.* To take up one's position or abode mentally. ?*Obs.* II, 1, 274.
- Flesh, *v. transf. and fig.* To inflame the ardor, rage, or cupidity of a person by a foretaste of success or gratification. ?*Obs.* I, 3, 181; I, 3, 291.
- Flye, *Phr.* *To fly off.* *Lit.* to start away; 'to revolt' (J.), *fig.* to break away (from an agreement or engagement). I, 3, 349.
- Fondness, *sb.* Folly, weakness. *Obs.* except *dial.* III, 1, 264.
- Foolish, *a.* Humble, insignificant, paltry. *Arch. or dial.* II, 1, 75; IV, 1, 38.
- Foot boy, *sb.* A boy attendant. *Obs.* III, 2, 62.
- Foresaid, *a.* Aforesaid. Now *rare.* III, 2, 43.
- Forme, *sb.* Beauty, comeliness. *Obs.* IV, 1, 66.
- Freshly, *adv.* Anew, afresh. Now *rare.* IV, 1, 91.
- Fright, *v.* To scare, terrify. Now *rare* except *poet.* and *Sc.* Replaced by frighten. I, 3, 303; I, 3, 317.
- Frontlesse, *a. fig.* Shameless, audacious. Now *rare.* II, 1, 139.
- Froward, *a.* Hard to please, refractory. (Not now in colloquial use.) IV, 3, 66.
- Gall, *sb.* Spirit to resent injury or insult. *Obs.* II, 1, 110; V, 1, 49.
- Gallant, *a.* Gorgeous or showy in appearance, smart. *Arch.* III, 2, 23.
- Game, *sb.* Fun, sport. *Obs.* except *dial.* II, 1, 146.
- Get, *v. refl.* To betake oneself, to go. Now only *Arch.* II, 1, 88.
- Gimcracke, *sb.* An affected showy person, a fop (A term of contempt.) *Obs.* This example is quoted under the above definition in N. E. D., but it seems to me to be "A fanciful notion, also, an underhand design, device, trick." IV, 3, 168.
- Give, *v.* With prep. *up.* To deliver, render, present. *Obs.* III, 1, 122.
- Goe, *v.* Used in imperative as a rebuke or remonstrance. *Obs.* III, 2, 55.
- Good, *v.* An adjective of courteous address. Now often jocular or depreciatory. IV, 3, 34.
- Grace, *sb.* An exceptional favor.
- In grace, *phr.* In favor. *Obs.* II, 1, 61; III, 1, 259; IV, 1, 7.
- To do a person or thing a grace; to do honor to. *Obs.* IV, 2, 57.
- Grace, *v.* To show favor or be gracious to; also, to countenance. *Obs.* II, 1, 27.
- Gratife, *v. trans.* Reward, requite. *Obs.* III, 1, 246.
- Greatnesse, *sb.* Used as a title. *Obs.* II, 1, 122.
- Grieve, *v. trans.* To regret deeply. *Poet.* II, 1, 101.
- Grosse, *a.* Coarse, inferior, common. *Obs.* I, 3, 77.

Harbinger, *sb.* A forerunner, messenger. Mostly in *transf.* and *fig.* senses, and in literary language. I, 3, 151.

Hath, *v.* 3d pers. sing. pres. ind. of have. *Arch.* I, 1, 46.

Heare, *v.* To accede to, grant a request or prayer. Chiefly in scriptural use. III, 1, 80.

Heart strings, *sb. pl.* In old notions of anatomy, the tendons or nerves supposed to brace and sustain the heart. IV, 3, 316.

Heed, *sb.* Careful attention, care (now chiefly literary). Especially in the phrase 'To take heed.' IV, 3, 17.

Heeles, *Phr. lay by the heels.* Arrest, confine. I, 1, 12; II, 1, 80.

Height, *Phr. to the height.* To the highest or utmost degree. *Obs.* I, 3, 35; IV, 3, 257.

Hen, *sb. fig.* Used for wife, woman, female. *Humorous* or *low colloq.* II, 1, 179.

Hence, *adv.* With redundant *from.* IV, 3, 207.

Hither, *adv.* Now only *literary*, in ordinary speech supplanted by 'here'. II, 1, 99; IV, 3, 243; V, 1, 118.

Honest, *a.* Virtuous, upright, well-disposed, reliable, trusty. *Obs.* I, 1, 43; I, 3, 380.

Honesty, *sb.* Formerly in a wide general sense, including all kinds of moral excellence. *Obs.* II, 1, 78.

Hope, *v. trans.* with simple object (= hope for). Now chiefly *poetic.* IV, 3, 171.

Horned, *a.* Cuckolds were fancifully said to wear horns on the brow. *Obs.* IV, 3, 263.

Horrid, *a.* In earlier use, nearly synonymous with *horrible.* I, 3, 290; III, 3, 2; V, 1, 10.

Hors-head, *sb.* Racing. The length of a horse's head. II, 1, 112.

How, *interjection.* Elliptical for 'How is it?' or 'How say you?' Modern equivalent is 'What?' or 'What!' *Arch.* II, 1, 1; III, 2, 85; III, 3, 107; III, 3, 125; IV, 2, 19.

However, *adv.* However much, although. *Obs.* or *Arch.* V, 1, 13.

Howsoever, *adv.* Notwithstanding that, albeit = however. *Obs.* II, 1, 323.

Hunts-up, *sb.* A song or tune to waken huntsmen. A disturbance, uproar. *Obs.* or *dial.* II, 1, 242.

If, *conj.* *If that* was formerly in use for the simple *if.* Now *arch.* V, 2, 173.

Imperious, *a.* Ruling, dominant. *Obs.* I, 3, 100.

Impart, *v.* To make known, tell, relate. *Arch.* IV, 3, 171.

Impute, *v.* To regard, consider. *Obs.* V, 1, 37.

In, *adv.* Involved, entangled in (an action, especially an unlawful one). *Obs.* II, 1, 428.

Innocencie, *sb.* Now somewhat *rare* or *arch.* = innocence. III, 3, 74.

Innocent, *sb.* A guiltless person. *Obs.* IV, 3, 289; V, 2, 230.

Instruct, *v.* Construction, clause as object. *Obs.* III, 1, 69; III, 1, 174; V, 1, 138.

Intelligence, *sb.* Agency for obtaining secret information or news. *Obs.* II, 1, 69.

The communication of spies, secret or private agents, etc. *Obs.* III, 3, 133.

Intercession, *sb.* Loosely used for a petition or pleading on one's own behalf. *Obs.* III, 1, 15.

Invert, *v. trans.* To divert from its proper purpose, to pervert to another use. *Obs.* IV, 3, 217.

Issue, *sb.* Med. A discharge of blood or other matter from the body. II, 1, 170.

Jealous, *a.* Doubtful, mistrustful. *Obs.* IV, 1, 50.

Jerk, *sb.* A stripe, lash. *Obs.* III, 2, 3.

Jerkin, *sb.* *Arch.* or *hist.* A garment for the upper part of the body worn by men in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. With "buffe". The military dress *Obs.* III, 1, 37.

Joy, *sb.* Paradise, heaven, bliss. *Obs.* or *arch.* III, 3, 38. Cf. U. C. II, 1 (59b), "after joys".

Joyne, *v. intr.* said of the battle. *Obs.* I, 3, 89.

Justice, *sb.* Infliction of punishment. *Obs.* III, 3, 27; IV, 3, 287.

Keepe, *v.* Live, lodge. (Freq. in literary use from c 1580 to 1650; now only *colloquial*, especially at Cambridge University and in U. S.) II, 1, 359.

Knave, *sb.* One of low condition. Now *arch.* IV, 1, 41.

Know, *v.* To acknowledge. *Obs.* II, 1, 168.

To have carnal acquaintance with. *Arch.* III, 3, 62; IV, 3, 229.

Knowledge, *sb.* Recognition. *Obs.* V, 2, 218.

Largely, *adv.* Liberally, bountifully. Now *arch.* and with mixture of extensively, etc. III, 1, 188.

Late, *a.* Recent in date. Now *Obs.* Of persons, chiefly in phrase of late years. II, 1, 123; IV, 3, 208; V, 1, 169.

Latest, *a.* Last. Now *arch.* and *poet.* I, 3, 369; V, 1, 134.

Leap, *v.* To leap on. Now *upon.* II, 1, 177.

Leave, *v.* To abandon, forsake. Now *rare* or *Obs.* except in 'to leave off'. III, 2, 107.

To cease, stop. With object infinitive with *to.* Now only *arch.* = leave off. IV, 1, 38.

Lewd, *a.* Low, vulgar, 'base'. *Obs.* II, 1, 225.

Light, *Phr. by this light.* *Arch.* III, 1, 189.

Like, *a.* Likely. Now somewhat rare in literary use; still common colloquially. II, 1, 206.

Like, used as conj. = 'like as', as. Now generally condemned as vulgar or slovenly. III, 1, 76; III, 1, 147, etc.

Lob's pound, *sb.* Now *dial.* Prison, jail. Also *fig.* an entanglement, difficulty. III, 2, 52.

Loose, *v.* To forget. *Obs.* II, 1, 393.

Lord, *sb.* A husband. Now only *poet.* and *humorous.* II, 1, 106; III, 3, 58; III, 3, 132.

Love, construction with *to arch.* I, 3, 351.

For love's sake, phr. A phrase of strong entreaty. *Obs.* I, 3, 1.

Madona, *sb.* An Italian lady. *Obs.* III, 1, 31.

Magnificence, *sb.* Munificence. *Obs.* III, 1, 221.

Maine, *a.* Highly important, momentous. *Obs.* V, 2, 157.

Make, *v.* To be 'compact' of. *Obs.* II, 1, 131.

Phr. *make a shot.* Now *arch.* IV, 3, 155.

Phr. *make up.* To attire a person suitably for receiving guests.

Obs. II, 1, 172.

Malevolent, *a.* Astrol. Exercising an evil or baleful influence. *Obs.* I, 3, 309.

Marke, *v.* To observe. Now *poet.* III, 3, 134.

Marrie, *int.* *Obs.* except *arch.* or *dial.* Originally Mary, an exclamation of asseveration, surprise, etc. II, 1, 225.

Mayd, *sb.* Maiden. Now only (*exc. dial.*) *arch.* or *playful.* III, 1, 181; V, 1, 55.

Meane, *a.* Petty, unimportant. ?*Obs.* I, 3, 14; I, 3, 55; II, 1, 131.

Meeter, *sb.* A verse or poem. *Obs.* III, 2, 18.

Melancholy, *sb.* The disease supposed to result from having too much 'black bile'; in early references its prominent symptoms are sullenness and propensity to causeless and violent anger, and in later references mental gloom and sadness. *Obs.* II, 1, 124.

Me thinks, Phr. It seems to me. Now *arch.* and *poet.* I, 3, 100.

Minister, *v.* To administer. *Obs.* I, 3, 306.

Miscarry, *v. intr.* To meet with death. *Obs.* I, 3, 343.

Mischiefe, Phr. *with a mischief.* Used as an expletive. *Obs.* II, 1, 234.

Misse, *v.* To be unsuccessful. Now *arch.* or *Obs.* IV, 1, 91.

Mistris, *sb.* A sweetheart. Now avoided in ordinary use except in unequivocal contexts. I, 3, 38; I, 3, 39, etc.

A woman who has the power to control or dispose of something.

Now *rare.* V, 1, 42; V, 2, 67.

Modesty, *sb.* Moderation; self control. *Obs.* II, 1, 65.

Modicum, *sb.* Applied to a person of small stature. *Obs.* II, 1, 183.

Moneys, *sb. pl.* Sums of money. Now chiefly in legal or quasi-legal parlance, or as an *archaism.* III, 1, 125.

Monstrous, *a.* Unnatural. *Obs.* I, 3, 287.

Moore, *sb.* A Mohammedan, especially a Mohammedan inhabitant of India. II, 1, 167.

More, *a.* Greater. *Obs.* III, 2, 33.

Most, *absol.* (Construed as plural.) The greatest number. Now usually without article; in early use *most* and *the most* were both common. I, 1, 68; IV, 3, 54.

Mulct, *sb.* A penalty of any kind. See note. IV, 3, 190.

Mushrome, *sb. fig.* A contemptible person. II, 1, 86. Cf. D. F. IV, 1 (241b).

- Musicke, *sb.* A company of musicians. *Obs. exc.* in military use. II, 1, 78.
- Musty, *a.* Ill humored, peevish. *Obs. except dial.* II, 1, 113.
- Name, *sb.* Repute, reputation. Now *rare.* IV, 1, 12.
- Nay, *adv.* Expresses negation. Now *arch.* or *dial.* III, 1, 62; III, 1, 129.
- Nectar, *sb.* Applied in Massinger to the moisture on the lips. I, 3, 205; V, 2, 212.
- Need, *v.* Phr. *it needs.* It is needful or necessary. *Obs.* V, 1, 81.
- Neere, *a.* Intimate with. *Obs.* IV, 3, 87.
- Neerely, *adv.* In a special manner, particularly. I, 3, 262.
- Neighbor, *a.* In attrib. use, passing into adj. Situated near or close. (Very common c 1580-1700.) V, 1, 123.
- Next, *a.* Phr. *the next way.* The shortest, most convenient or direct way. *Obs.* III, 2, 7.
- Nor, *conj.* Introducing both alternatives. Chiefly *poet.* II, 1, 356; V, 2, 10.
- Obdurate, *a.* The regular accentuation. I, 3, 292. Cf. U. C. IV, 1 (56b); Ren. V, 3 (161a); C. M. V, 3 (455a).
- Observe, *v.* To treat with attention or regard. *Obs.* III, 3, 47; IV, 2, 4.
- Of, *prep.* For. *Arch.* II, 1, 109.
- On. Phr. *on thy life.* On a capital charge. *Obs.* IV, 3, 165.
- One. *indefinite pronoun.* Some one. *Arch.* or *Obs.* IV, 3, 290.
- Or, *conj.* Or . . . or is sometimes used in the sense of *either . . . or.* This is now *poetic.* II, 1, 189-90; III, 2, 89; V, 2, 167.
- Order, *v.* To treat, manage. *Obs.* III, 2, 120.
- O're, *adv.* Poetic and dialectical contraction of over. V, 2, 61.
- Organ, *sb.* An instrument, a tool. *Arch.* V, 2, 57.
- Ought, *sb.* (*pron.*). Form of aught. *Arch.* I, 3, 115.
- Outside, *sb.* Outer garments, clothes. *Obs.* I, 3, 2.
- Owe, *v.* To acknowledge as belonging to oneself. *Obs.* I, 3, 24.
- Oyle, Phr. *oil of angels.* Gold employed in gifts or bribes. *Obs.* III, 2, 24.
- Panicque, *a.* In *panic terror*, etc.; such as was attributed to the action of the god Pan. I, 3, 167.
- Pardon, *v.* Now *excuse me.* II, 1, 266.
- Parts, *sb. pl.* Abilities, capacities, talents. Now *Arch.*, rare in speech. IV, 1, 21; IV, 1, 34; IV, 3, 48.
- Partie, *sb.* Now shoppy, vulgar, or jocular, the proper word being person. III, 2, 51.
- Passage, *sb.* Incident, event. *Obs.* or *arch.* III, 1, 212.
- Peice, *sb.* *Piece of eight*, the Spanish dollar, or *peso*, of the value of 8 *reals*, or about 4s 6d. It was marked with the figure 8. III, 1, 34.
- Perforce, *adv.* Forcibly, by violence. I, 3, 257.
- Peruse, *v.* To examine or consider in detail. *Arch.* III, 2, 63.

- Phrensie, *sb.* Mental derangement. Now somewhat *rare* in its literal sense. V, 2, 77; V, 2, 258.
- Physicke, *sb.* Medicine. (Now chiefly *colloq.*) II, 1, 123; III, 2, 31; IV, 3, 97.
- Picture, *sb.* The portrait or likeness of a person. Now *rare*. V, 1, 123.
- Pistolet, *sb.* Name given certain foreign gold coins in 16th c. ranging in value from 5s 10d to 6s 8d; in later times = Pistole. III, 1, 240.
- Pittie, *sb.* Clemency, mercy, mildness. *Obs.* III, 3, 50; III, 3, 72.
- Construction of *Obs.* V, 2, 100.
- Plague, *sb. spec.* The oriental or bubonic plague. IV, 2, 73; V, 2, 227.
- Please, *v.* Phr. *please you*. May it please you. *Obs.* IV, 3, 172.
- Poore, *a.* In modest or apologetic use. I, 3, 268; II, 1, 58, etc.
- Poorely, *adv.* Meanly, shabbily. *Obs.* IV, 3, 74.
- Port, *sb.* A gate or gateway; from 14th c. usually that of a city. Now chiefly *Scotch*. IV, 3, 166.
- Post, *sb.* A courier (now chiefly *Hist.*). I, 3, 81; I, 3, 137.
- Posterie, *sb.* *Obs. rare*. Posterity. IV, 3, 131.
- Posture, *sb.* Mil. A particular position of a weapon in drill or warfare. *Obs.* I, 1, 24.
- Power, *sb. Pl.* Forces, i. e. distinct hosts. Now *rare* or *arch.* I, 3, 256.
- Poxe, *sb.* In imprecations, or exclamations of irritation or impatience. *Obs.* III, 2, 101.
- Practice, *sb.* An action, a deed. *Obs.* III, 3, 2.
- Prayse, *sb. transf.* Merit, value, virtue. *Arch.* III, 1, 129.
- Preferre, *v.* With *before*, construction *Obs.* II, 1, 405-7.
- Preserve, *v.* To keep alive. *Arch.* V, 2, 139; V, 2, 180.
- President, *sb.* *Obs.* form of precedent. I, 3, 318.
- Pretend, *v.* Phr. *pretend to*. To put forward as an excuse. I, 3, 315.
- Prethe, archaic colloquialism for '(I) pray thee'. III, 1, 263; III, 2, 35, 48, 94, 107, etc.
- Prevention, *sb.* A means of preventing, a preventive, a safeguard. *Obs.* IV, 3, 45.
- The action of forestalling another person in the execution of his designs. *Obs.* V, 2, 30.
- Prittie, *a.* Having the proper appearance, qualities or manners of a man. Now *Arch.* IV, 1, 21.
- Privacy, *sb. pl.* Private or retired places; private apartments. Now *rare*. I, 3, 219.
- Private man, Private Soldier. I, 1, 25.
- Prize, *v.* To value. *Obs.* I, 1, 107; I, 3, 203; II, 1, 318.
- Propertie, *sb.* A tool, a 'cat's paw'. *Obs.* IV, 3, 295.
- Propound, *v.* To set before one as a reward. *Obs.* III, 3, 159.
- Prove, *v.* To try, test. *Arch.* except in technical uses. IV, 3, 257.
- Provide, *v.* Construction of *Obs.* V, 1, 113.
- Pulpet man, *sb.* A preacher. *Obs.* III, 2, 30.

Pulses, *sb.* Formerly sometimes construed erroneously as a plural. V, 2, 65.

Punie, *sb.* A junior or recently admitted pupil or student in a school or university or in the Inns of Court; a freshman. Also *fig.* or *allusively*. *Obs.* IV, 1, 107. Cf. P. L. III, 1 (175a).

Push-pin, *sb.* A child's game in which each player pushes or fillips his pin with the object of crossing that of another player. III, 2, 47.

Put, *v.* Phr. *put in.* To intervene. ?*Obs.* III, 1, 15.

Phr. *put on.* To put on one's hat, 'be covered'. IV, 1, 15.

Quallitie, *sb.* Rank or position. Now *rare*. III, 1, 187; III, 2, 13.

Question, *v.* To dispute with. *Obs.* I, 2, 11.

Quick, *a.* Alive. Now *dial.* or *arch.* I, 3, 315.

Raise, *v.* To erase or raze. *Obs.* V, 2, 122.

Rampant, *a.* Lustful, vicious. *Obs.* III, 2, 9.

Rarely, *adv.* Finely, splendidly, beautifully. (Frequent in 17th c.) IV, 1, 32.

Recide, *v.* *Obs.* form of 'reside'. I, 3, 357.

Recórd, *sb.* The regular accentuation. IV, 3, 130. Cf. M. H. IV, 3 (273); C. M. II, 3 (436a); Bash. L. V, 3 (558a); Bel. II, 2 (603a).

Remission, *sb.* Pardon for a political offence. Now only *Hist.* III, 1, 152.

Remove, *sb.* Departure to another place. Now *rare* (very common c. 1590-1760). III, 1, 52.

Resolve, *v.* To free from doubt or perplexity. (Common in 17th c.) *Obs.* II, 1, 15.

To inform, tell a person of a thing. *Obs.* II, 1, 74.

To convince one of something. *Obs.* II, 1, 370.

Restrayn, *v. intr.* To refrain from something. Now *rare*. V, 2, 29.

Rouse, *sb.* Now *arch.* A bumper, full draught of liquor. A carousal or bout of drinking. I, 1, 33.

Sadnesse, *sb.* Soberness. ?*Obs.* II, 1, 103.

Say, *v.* In perf. tense = I have finished speaking. *Obs.* III, 1, 188.

Scholler, *sb.* A pupil of a master. Now *arch.* or *rhetorical*. III, 1, 234.

Search, *v.* To probe a wound. *Obs.* IV, 3, 28; V, 2, 92.

Seas, *sb. pl. poet.* or *rhetorical* like 'waters'. I, 3, 340.

Sect, *sb.* Class or kind of persons. *Obs.* IV, 1, 9.

Sectarie, *sb.* In 17-18th c. commonly applied to the English Protestant Dissenters. Now chiefly *Hist.* III, 2, 25.

Secure, *a.* Feeling sure or certain. ?*Obs.* I, 2, 26.

Sensible, *a.* Cognizant, conscious, aware of. Construction *of.* Now somewhat *rare*. V, 2, 91.

Sensuall, *a.* Not so darkly colored then as now, more nearly approaching sensuous. III, 3, 61.

Shew, *v.* With complement. To look, seem, appear. *Obs.* with *sb.* IV, 3, 165. *Arch.* with adjective complement. II, 1, 128, 246; IV, 3, 220.

Shift, *v. intr.* To manage matters, to make provisions for. *Obs.* IV, 3, 261.

Shot, *v.* Of a vessel to receive a shot causing a dangerous leak; also *slang* clapt or poxt. III, 2, 67.

Skilles, *v.* To make a difference, matter. In negative interrogative clauses. Now *arch.* I, 1, 25.

Sleepy, *a.* Inducing sleep, soporific. Now *rare.* V, 2, 90.

Smother, *v.* To conceal by keeping silent about, to hush up. (Now with *up*.) *Obs.* II, 1, 25.

Sooth, *sb.* In good sooth. Truly, now *arch.* III, 2, 95.

Sooth, *v.* To support or back up a person in a statement. *Obs.* V, 2, 156.

Stale, *sb.* A dupe or laughing stock. *Obs.* or *arch.* IV, 3, 294.

Star, *sb.* Destiny. *Rare.* I, 3, 50; V, 1, 160.

Store, *sb.* Abundance, plenty. Used archaically without the indefinite article. III, 2, 49.

Straight, *adv.* Narrowly, closely. *Obs.* V, 1, 40.

Submission, *sb.* Admission, confession. *Obs.* III, 3, 20.

Taint, *v.* To accuse of crime or dishonor. *Obs.* I, 1, 107.

Tax, *v.* To accuse. *Const. for.* *Obs.* (Now *with*.) II, 1, 330.

Teeming, *vbl. sb.* Breeding, with child. *Obs.* V, 1, 59.

Then, *conj.* Originally same word as *Than, conj.*, which in both senses varied in M. E. and 16th c. between *then* and *than*. I, 1, 45, 112, 122; I, 2, 30, etc.

Think, *v.* Phr. *think on*. Now usually *of*. I, 1, 26; II, 1, 415; V, 2, 16; V, 2, 34; V, 2, 200.

Tis. A contraction of *it is*. Now chiefly used in poetry. III, 1, 190.

Touch, *v.* To concern. *Obs.* III, 1, 207.

Towse, *v.* To pull a woman about rudely, or indelicately. *Obs.* III, 1, 30.

Tract, *sb.* Path, way, route. Now *rare* or *Obs.*; usually expressed by track. V, 1, 95. Cf. M. H. V, 2 (282a).

Travaile, *sb.* Exertion, trouble, suffering. *Arch.* I, 3, 67; V, 1, 159.

Travailes, *sb.* in *pl.* Labors. *Obs.* I, 1, 27.

Triumph, *sb.* A public festivity or display of any kind. *Obs.* III, 1, 14.

Trode, *Pa. t.* of trod. *Arch.* IV, 2, 54.

Troth, *sb.* *Colloq.* for in troth as is shown by the apostrophe here. V, 2, 11.

Trunke, *sb.* In literary use, the body. V, 2, 142, 225.

Undertaker, *sb.* He who undertakes any action. II, 1, 252. Cf. Ren. III, 3 (149a); N. W. V, 1 (416b).

Unto, *prep.* To; now somewhat antiquated, but much used in formal or antiquated style. IV, 3, 307; V, 2, 11, 69.

Use, *sb.* Construction with *of*. *Obs.* IV, 3, 177.

Want, *sb.* Time of need. ?*Obs.* III, 1, 123.

Weed, *sb.* Costume. Now commonly in the plural and chiefly in the phrase *widow's weeds*. III, 1, 150.

Whether, *adv.* An obsolete form of *whither*. III, 2, 86; V, 1, 153.

Wind, *v.* To twist one's self or worm one's way into or out of something. *Obs.* I, 3, 75.

Witty, *a.* Clever, skillfully devised. *Obs.* V, 2, 250.

Writ, *pa. pple.* *Obs.* or *arch.* for written. I, 3, 238; III, 1, 74.

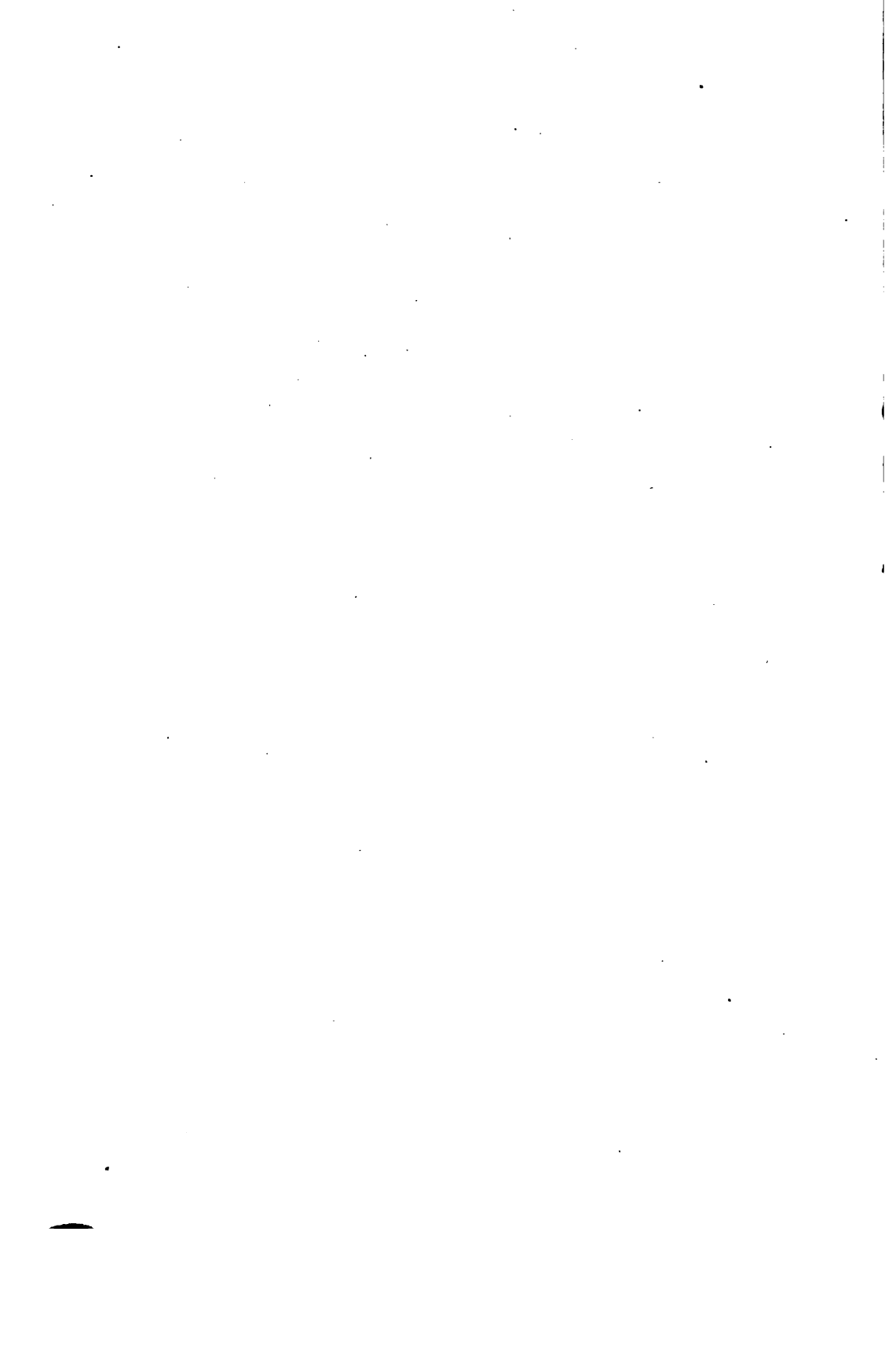
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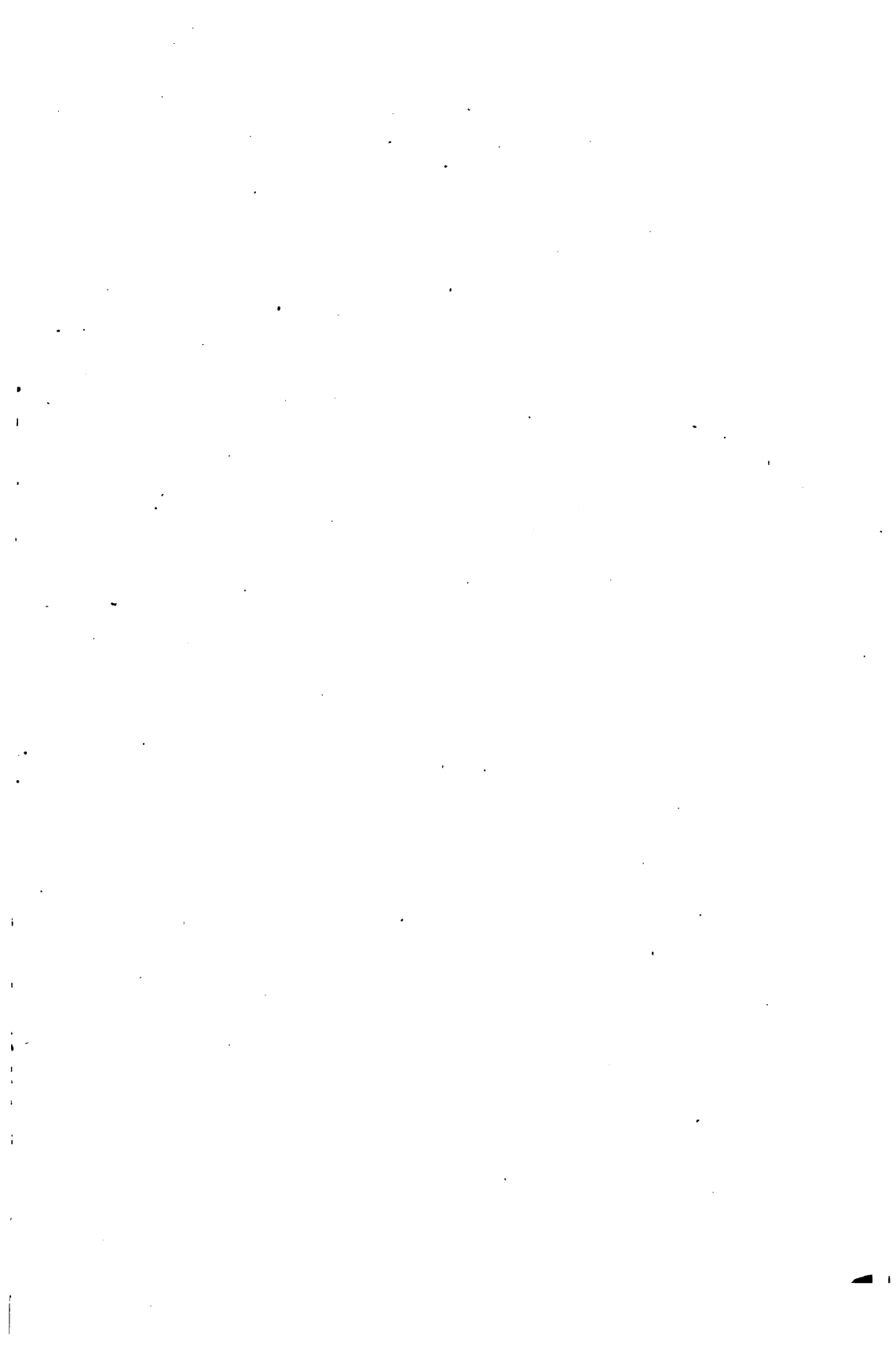
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